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HIGH EDUCATION IN INDIA.

HIGH EDUCATION IN INDIA.

HIGH EDUCATION IN INDIA:

A PLEA FOR THE STATE COLLEGES.

BY

ROPER LETHBRIDGE, C.I.E., M.A.



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P R E F A C E.

To my old pupils and friends in the Kishnaghur, Presidency, and Hooghly Colleges of the Calcutta University, I dedicate this attempt to defend a cause which we all love. Those who remember anything of my life and work in Bengal, will know full well that nothing written by me can possibly be conceived in a spirit of hostility to Christian Missionaries or Christian Missions. They will know that where, in some of the following pages, I have felt it my duty to oppose a movement that has been to some extent identified with the name of Christian Missions in India, I have done so in the honest belief that I am opposing, not Christianity, but the mistaken zeal of good men who would (all unconsciously) bring the reproach of injustice on the Christian name. One of the chief glories of the Christian religion, the "charity that thinketh no evil," suffices to render easy what might otherwise seem difficult in the life of a

Christian Professor in an Indian State College ; for he is able, under the highest sanction, without surrendering one jot of the faith that is in him, to discern, to sympathise with, and to encourage, so far as in him lies, all that is pure and good and ennobling in the religions that surround him.

The Government of India, in the Resolution appointing the present Educational Commission, has expressed its wish to do nothing to check the spread of High Education in India. No one will for a moment doubt the sincerity of this declaration ; and it is for the educated community of India to aid the Government, by pointing out the danger of mistaken suggestions. The same Resolution speaks of the possibility of "setting free," for other benevolent purposes, some of the funds now devoted to High Education. I firmly believe that this is impossible without the most serious injury to the progress of India ; and I call upon all who think with me to join in urging the Government to desist from the dangerous project.

R. L.

GODALMING,
28 April, 1882.

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HIGH EDUCATION IN INDIA.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

DURING the past two years, a crusade against our system of education in India has been preached, with great vigour, and not without some bitterness, both in India and in England. The agitation has been mainly directed against the State Colleges; and in this respect it has been only a recrudescence of a similar movement which, less vehemently urged and less powerfully supported, was crushed by the weight of Indian public opinion and English sense of justice during the viceroyalty of Lord Northbrook. A temporary mutilation of two Bengal Colleges, destined soon to regain their old position, was the sole outcome of that movement—unless, indeed, the abolition of the State scholarships for Indians studying in England was due to the same cause.

Both as a Bengal educational officer, and as editor of the *Calcutta Review* during the whole period of the earlier agitation, I had many opportunities of closely watching its progress and defeat; and one of the pleasantest memories of my Indian career is that of the revival of the Kisnaghur College (one of the victims) while I was its Principal. I am firmly convinced that the present crusade, though animated by worthy motives, is an utterly mistaken and mischievous one. I believe it will be defeated, as its forerunner was, if those who advocate the maintenance of the State connection with High Education do not rely too much on their former victory. It ought to be clearly understood by the educated community of India, that the present movement is being conducted with far more vigour than the last one; that its promoters are more numerous, more influential, more deeply convinced of the righteousness of their cause, and far more skilfully organised, than was then the case. And the circumstances of the time are, in many ways, highly favourable to the attempt now being resolutely made, to effect "the abolition or transference of Government Colleges and High Schools in India."* With so many advantages on their side, able and earnest men like Mr. Arthur Howell, Dr. Murdoch, and the

* The title of one of the able pamphlets put forth by the Rev. James Johnston, Secretary to the General Council on Education in India.

Reverend James Johnston will be hard to beat, unless we can show to them and to the rest of the world that both justice and expediency are on our side, and only mistaken sentiment or prejudice on theirs. It is by the educated community of India, who are mainly concerned (with the whole body of their fellow-countrymen) in the issue now raised, that the battle must be once more fought and won. My sole object in penning the following pages is to offer the little aid in my power to that community, among whom I have the privilege of possessing many valued friends, and whose interests must always be very near the heart of every Anglo-Indian officer who has lived and worked in sympathy with them. One thing that has induced me to write, is the fact that, as a retired officer, I can write more freely than many who are better able to do justice to the case, because I have obviously no personal concern in the question further than that which I have mentioned. I have been preceded on the same side by one of our most distinguished retired civilians, Mr. R. N. Cust, by the late Director of Public Instruction in the N.W.P., Mr. M. Kempson, by Mr. Wordsworth of Bombay, by the Director of Public Instruction in Madras: my great hope is that I shall be followed by many others, and especially by Indian writers, in a cause in which, I firmly believe, the honour of the Indian Government and the future progress of the Indian people are vitally concerned.

CHAPTER II.

THE EDUCATIONAL CHARTER OF 1854.

THE agitation against the State Colleges has been largely founded on an interpretation, which I maintain to be an entirely erroneous one, of the Educational Despatch of 1854. That despatch is justly regarded as a State Paper of the greatest value and importance, worthy of the distinguished and liberal-minded statesmen, Lord Halifax and Lord Northbrook, whose genius elaborated it. It is cordially accepted by all parties in India as the Charter of Indian Education ; and the Director of Public Instruction in Madras, and those who desire to maintain a close connection between the State and the great Colleges of India, rely with confidence on the pledges therein given.

The erroneous interpretation of the despatch, which has given so much semblance of strength to the case for the "abolition or transference" of the State Colleges, originated in some unfortunately ambiguous words of Mr. A. P. Howell,

then Acting-Secretary to the Government of India in the Home Department, used in his summary or *précis* of the despatch, and printed in a Parliamentary Blue-book in 1870. In this official summary, Mr. Howell stated that:—

“The main object of the despatch of 1854 is to divert the efforts of the Government from the education of the higher classes, upon whom up to that date they had been too exclusively directed, and to turn them to the wider diffusion of education among all classes of the people, and especially to the provision of primary instruction among the masses.”

These words of Mr. Howell have been quoted, or referred to, thousands of times since their publication; and always on the assumption that Lord Halifax's intention was “to divert the efforts of the Government from the education of the higher classes,” in the sense of *diminishing the State expenditure on the State Colleges, and ultimately severing the direct connection of Government with them*. The words are quoted, evidently with this interpretation, in the Memorial of the General Council of Education presented to His Excellency the Marquis of Ripon before he left England for India in 1880. They are referred to over and over again, as I shall show, in the publications of the General Council, in Dr. Murdoch's pamphlets, and elsewhere in all writings on that side of the question—and always in the same sense. In order to prove that this interpretation of the despatch is absolutely without a shadow of foundation—as well as

for convenience of reference—I will now give the despatch itself *in extenso*. I will annotate every passage that bears even remotely on the question ; and I am perfectly confident of being able to show that the authors of the despatch, so far from contemplating any cutting adrift of the State Colleges, regarded those colleges as a necessary element, and not the least important one, in their grand scheme of National Education for India.

Copy of a Despatch from the Court of Directors of the *East India* Company to the Governor-General of India in Council, dated July 19th, 1854, No. 49.

1. It appears to us that the present time, when by an Act of the Imperial Legislature the responsible trust of the Government of India has again been placed in our hands, is peculiarly suitable for the review of the progress which has already been made, the supply of existing deficiencies, and the adoption of such improvements as may be best calculated to secure the ultimate benefit of the people committed to our charge.

2. Among many subjects of importance, none can have a stronger claim to our attention than that of Education. It is one of our most sacred duties to be the means, as far as in us lies, of conferring upon the natives of India those vast moral and material blessings which flow from the general

diffusion of useful knowledge, and which India may, under Providence, derive from her connection with England. For, although British influence has already, in many remarkable instances, been applied with great energy and success to uproot demoralising practices, and even crimes of a deeper dye, which for ages had prevailed among the natives of India, the good results of those efforts must, in order to be permanent, possess the further sanction of a general sympathy in the native mind, which the advance of education alone can secure.

3. We have, moreover, always looked upon the encouragement of education as peculiarly important, because calculated "not only to produce a higher degree of intellectual fitness, but to raise the moral character of those who partake of its advantages, and so to supply you with servants 'o whose probity you may with increased confidence commit offices of trust" in India, where the well-being of the people is so intimately connected with the truthfulness and ability of officers of every grade in all departments of the State.

4. Nor, while the character of England is deeply concerned in the success of our efforts for the promotion of education, are her material interests altogether unaffected by the advance of European knowledge in India: this knowledge will teach the natives of India the marvellous results of the employment of labour and capital, rouse them to

emulate us in the development of the vast resources of their country, guide them in their efforts, and gradually, but certainly, confer upon them all the advantages which accompany the healthy increase of wealth and commerce; and, at the same time, secure to us a larger and more certain supply of many articles necessary for our manufactures and extensively consumed by all classes of our population, as well as an almost inexhaustible demand for the produce of British labour.*

5. We have from time to time given careful attention and encouragement to the efforts which have hitherto been made for the spread of education, and we have watched with deep interest the practical results of the various systems by which those efforts have been directed. The periodical reports of the different Councils and Boards of Education, together with other official communications upon the same subject, have put us in possession of full information as to those educational establishments which are under the direct control of Government; while the evidence taken before

* In the enumeration of the general advantages of education, given in sections 3 and 4, the authors were evidently thinking of secondary education as the first want of India, when they refer to the supply of "servants to whose probity you may with increased confidence commit offices of trust;" and again, when they speak of "the development of the vast resources of the country." And these sections early prove that the authors of the despatch had not found gh education to produce those "evil effects" with which is charged by its opponents (see next chapter).

the Committees of both Houses of Parliament upon Indian affairs has given us the advantage of similar information with respect to exertions made for this purpose by persons unconnected with Government, and has also enabled us to profit by a knowledge of the views of those who are best able to arrive at sound conclusions upon the question of education generally.

6. Aided, therefore, by ample experience of the past, and the most competent advice for the future, we are now in a position to decide upon the mode in which the assistance of Government should be afforded to the more extended and systematic promotion of general education in India, and on the measures which should at once be adopted to that end.

7. Before proceeding further, we must emphatically declare that the education which we desire to see extended in India is that which has for its object the diffusion of the improved arts, science, philosophy, and literature of Europe ; in short, European knowledge.*

8. The systems of science and philosophy which form the learning of the East, abound with grave errors, and Eastern literature is at best very deficient as regards all modern discovery and improvements ;

* Here again in section 7, the reference is to secondary education, even more exclusively than in sections 3 and 4 ; and I beg the reader to note, that this kind of education is to be "extended" (sec. 7) in a "systematic" manner (sec. 6).

Asiatic learning therefore, however widely diffused, would but little advance our object. We do not wish to diminish the opportunities which are now afforded, in special institutions, for the study of Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian literature, or for the cultivation of those languages, which may be called the classical languages of India. An acquaintance with the works contained in them is valuable for historical and antiquarian purposes, and a knowledge of the languages themselves is required in the study of Hindoo and Mahomedan law, and is also of great importance for the critical cultivation and improvement of the vernacular languages of India.

9. We are not unaware of the success of many distinguished Oriental scholars in their praiseworthy endeavours to engraft upon portions of Hindoo philosophy the germs of sounder morals and of more advanced science; and we are far from underrating the good effect which has thus been produced upon the learned classes of India, who pay hereditary veneration to those ancient languages, and whose assistance in the spread of ~~advancement~~ is so valuable, from the honourable and influential position which they occupy among their fellow-countrymen. But such attempts, although they may usefully co-operate, can only be considered as auxiliary, and would be a very inadequate foundation for any general scheme of Indian education.

10. We have also received most satisfactory evidence of the high attainments in English literature and European science which have been acquired of late years by some of the natives of India. But this success has been confined to but a small number of persons ; and we are desirous of extending far more widely the means of acquiring general European knowledge, of a less high order, but of such a character as may be practically useful to the people of India in their different spheres of life. To attain this end, it is necessary, for the reasons which we have given above, that they should be made familiar with the works of European authors, and with the results of the thought and labour of Europeans on the subjects of every description upon which knowledge is to be imparted to them ; and to extend the means of imparting this knowledge must be the object of any general system of education.*

* My note on section 7 applies with still greater force to section 10. The knowledge that is to be "far more widely diffused," though "of a less high order" than the "high attainments" of the very few, is nevertheless to involve a familiarity "with the works of European authors, and with the results of the thought and labour of Europeans." There is clearly no reference to the three R's here. The "high attainments" are such as those now acquired by the graduate students who proceed to honours in the Indian universities ; the "general European knowledge" is obviously (as furthermore directly indicated in section 29) that which is given to the ordinary students of our high schools and colleges, and to the students in our higher-class vernacular and Anglo-vernacular schools. The importance of the encouragement of the latter class is emphasized in sections 12 and 13.

11. We have next to consider the manner in which our object is to be effected ; and this leads us to the question of the medium through which knowledge is to be conveyed to the people of India. It has hitherto been necessary, owing to the want of translations or adaptations of European works in the vernacular languages of India, and to the very imperfect shape in which European knowledge is to be found in any works in the learned languages of the East, for those who desired to obtain a liberal education, to begin by the mastery of the English language as a key to the literature of Europe ; and a knowledge of English will always be essential to those natives of India who aspire to a high order of education.

12. In some parts of India, more especially in the immediate vicinity of the Presidency towns where persons who possess a knowledge of English are preferred to others in many employments, public as well as private, a very moderate proficiency in the English language is often looked upon by those who attend school instruction, as the end and object of their education, rather than as a necessary step to the improvement of their general knowledge. We do not deny the value in many respects of the mere faculty of speaking and writing English, but we fear that a tendency has been created in these districts unduly to neglect the study of the vernacular languages.

13. It is neither our aim nor desire to substitute

the English language for the vernacular dialects of the country. We have always been most sensible of the importance of the use of the languages which alone are understood by the great mass of the population. These languages, and not English, have been put by us in the place of Persian in the administration of justice, and in the intercourse between the officers of Government and the people. It is indispensable, therefore, that in any general system of education the study of them should be assiduously attended to. And any acquaintance with improved European knowledge which is to be communicated to the great mass of the people—whose circumstances prevent them from acquiring a high order of education, and who cannot be expected to overcome the difficulties of a foreign language—can only be conveyed to them through one or other of these vernacular languages.

14. In any general system of education, the English language should be taught where there is a demand for it; but such instruction should always be combined with a careful attention to the study of the vernacular language of the district, and with such general instruction as can be conveyed through that language. And while the English language continues to be made use of, as by far the most perfect medium for the education of those persons who have acquired a sufficient knowledge of it to receive general instruction through it, the vernacular languages must be

employed to teach the far larger class who are ignorant of, or imperfectly acquainted with, English. This can only be done effectually through the instrumentality of masters and professors, who may, by themselves knowing English, and thus having full access to the latest improvements in knowledge of every kind, impart to their fellow-countrymen, through the medium of their mother tongue, the information which they have thus obtained. At the same time, and as the importance of the vernacular languages becomes more appreciated, the vernacular literatures of India will be gradually enriched by translations of European books, or by the original compositions of men whose minds have been imbued with the spirit of European advancement, so that European knowledge may gradually be placed in this manner within the reach of all classes of the people. We look, therefore, to the English language and to the vernacular languages of India together, as the media for the diffusion of European knowledge, and it is our desire to see them cultivated together in all schools in India of a sufficiently high class to maintain a schoolmaster possessing the requisite qualifications.*

* This section (14), is devoted to the consideration of two of the most important and valuable functions of the higher education—the supply of learned and competent teachers for the people, and the creation of a large literary class both as translators and as original writers. It is clear that the authors of the despatch would not have us relax,

15. We proceed now to the machinery which we propose to establish for the superintendence and direction of education. This has hitherto been exercised in our Presidencies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, by Boards and Councils of Education, composed of European and native gentlemen, who have devoted themselves to this duty with no other remuneration than the consciousness of assisting the progress of learning and civilisation ; and, at the same time, with an earnestness and ability which must command the gratitude of the people of India, and which will entitle some honoured names amongst them to a high place amongst the benefactors of India and of the human race.

16. The Lieutenant-Governor of Agra has, since the separation of the educational institutions of the North-western Provinces from those of Bengal, taken upon himself the task of their management ; and we cannot allow this opportunity to pass without the observation that, in this, as in all other branches of his administration, Mr. Thomason displayed that accurate knowledge of the condition

in the slightest degree, our exertions to promote and extend the higher education, until this great and pressing need has been fairly supplied. At the present day, even in the most advanced provinces of India, only a comparatively insignificant minority of the schoolmasters, even in secondary schools, are University graduates. In this direction then, at any rate, there is no indication of our having exceeded the intentions of the despatch in our cultivation of high education.

and requirements of the people under his charge, and that clear and ready perception of the practical measures best suited for their welfare, which make his death a loss to India, which we deplore the more deeply as we fear that his unremitting exertions tended to shorten his career of usefulness.

17. We desire to express to the present Boards and Councils of Education our sincere thanks for the manner in which they have exercised their functions, and we still hope to have the assistance of the gentlemen composing them in furtherance of a most important part of our present plan ; but, having determined upon a very considerable extension of the general scope of our efforts, involving the simultaneous employment of different agencies, some of which are now wholly neglected, and others but imperfectly taken advantage of by Government, we are of opinion that it is advisable to place the superintendence and direction of education upon a more systematic footing, and we have therefore determined to create an Educational Department, as a portion of the machinery of our Governments in the several Presidencies of India. We accordingly propose that an officer shall be appointed for each Presidency and Lieutenant-governorship, who shall be specially charged with the management of the business connected with education, and be immediately responsible to Government for its conduct.

18. An adequate system of inspection will also,

for the future, become an essential part of our educational system ; and we desire that a sufficient number of qualified inspectors be appointed, who will periodically report upon the state of those colleges and schools which are now supported and managed by Government, as well as of such as will hereafter be brought under Government inspection, by the measures that we propose to adopt. They will conduct, or assist at, the examination of the scholars at these institutions, and generally, by their advice, aid the managers and schoolmasters in conducting colleges and schools of every description throughout the country. They will necessarily be of different classes, and may possess different degrees of acquirement, according to the higher or lower character of the institutions which they will be employed to visit ; but we need hardly say that, even for the proper inspection of the lower schools, and with a view to their effectual improvement, the greatest care will be necessary to select persons of high character and fitting judgment for such employment. A proper staff of clerks and other officers will, moreover, be required for the educational departments.

19. Reports of the proceedings of the inspectors should be made periodically, and these again should be embodied in the annual reports of the heads of the educational departments, which should be transmitted to us, together with statistical returns (to be drawn up in similar forms in all

parts of India), and other information of a special character relating to education.

20. We shall send copies of this despatch to the Governments of Fort St. George and of Bombay, and direct them at once to make provisional arrangements for the superintendence and inspection of education in their respective Presidencies. Such arrangements as they may make will be reported to you for sanction. You will take similar measures in communication with the Lieutenant-governors of Bengal and of Agra, and you will also provide in such manner as may seem advisable for the wants of the non-regulation Provinces in this respect. We desire that your proceedings in this matter may be reported to us with as little delay as possible; and we are prepared to approve of such an expenditure as you may deem necessary for this purpose.

21. In the selection of the heads of the educational departments, the inspectors, and other officers, it will be of the greatest importance to secure the services of persons who are not only best able, from their character, position, and acquirements, to carry our objects into effect, but who may command the confidence of the natives of India. It may perhaps be advisable that the first heads of the educational departments, as well as some of the inspectors, should be members of our civil service; as such appointments in the first instance would tend to raise the estimation in

which these offices will be held, and to show the importance we attach to the subject of education, and also as amongst them you will probably find the persons best qualified for the performance of the duty. But we desire that neither these offices, nor any others connected with education, shall be considered as necessarily to be filled by members of that service, to the exclusion of others, Europeans or natives, who may be better fitted for them ; and that, in any case, the scale of their remuneration shall be so fixed as publicly to recognise the important duties they will have to perform.

22. We now proceed to sketch out the general scheme of the measure which we propose to adopt. We have endeavoured to avail ourselves of the knowledge which has been gained from the various experiments which have been made in different parts of India for the encouragement of education ; and we hope, by the more general adoption of those plans which have been carried into successful execution in particular districts, as well as by the introduction of other measures which appear to be wanting, to establish such a system as will prove generally applicable throughout India, and thus to impart to the educational efforts of our different Presidencies a greater degree of uniformity and method than at present exists.

23. We are fully aware that no general scheme would be applicable in all its details to the present condition of all portions of our Indian territories,

differing so widely as they do one from another, in many important particulars. It is difficult, moreover, for those who do not possess a recent and practical acquaintance with particular districts to appreciate the importance which should be attached to the feelings and influences which prevail in each; and we have, therefore, preferred confining ourselves to describing generally what we wish to see done, leaving it to you, in communication with the several local Governments, to modify particular measures so far as may be required, in order to adapt them to the different parts of India.

24. Some years ago, we declined to accede to a proposal made by the Council of Education, and transmitted to us, with the recommendation of your Government, for the institution of an university in Calcutta. The rapid spread of a liberal education among the natives of India since that time, the high attainments shown by the native candidates for Government scholarships, and by native students in private institutions, the success of the medical colleges, and the requirements of an increasing European and Anglo-Indian population, have led us to the conclusion that the time has now arrived for the establishment of universities in India, which may encourage a regular and liberal course of education, by conferring academical degrees as evidences of attainment in the different branches of art and science, and by adding

marks of honour for those who may desire to compete for honorary distinction.*

25. The Council of Education, in the proposal to which we have alluded, took the London University as their model; and we agree with them, that the form, government, and functions of that university (copies of whose charters and regulations we enclose for your reference) are the best adapted to the wants of India, and may be followed with advantage, although some variation will be necessary in points of detail.

26. The universities in India will accordingly consist of a chancellor, vice-chancellor, and fellows, who will constitute a senate. The senates will have the management of the funds of the universities, and frame regulations for your approval, under which periodical examinations may be held in the different branches of art and science, by examiners selected from their own body, or nominated by them.

27. The function of the universities will be to confer degrees upon such persons as, having been entered as candidates according to the rules which may be fixed in this respect, and having produced, from any of the "affiliated institutions," which will be enumerated on the foundation of the universities, or be from time to time added to them

* It is, perhaps, unnecessary for me to draw attention to the object proposed by the Despatch in directing the establishment of Universities—to "encourage a regular and liberal course of education."

by Government, certificates of conduct, and of having pursued a regular course of study for a given time, shall have also passed at the universities such an examination as may be required of them. It may be advisable to dispense with the attendance required at the London University for the matriculation examination, and to substitute some mode of entrance examination which may secure a certain amount of knowledge in the candidates for degrees, without making their attendance at the universities necessary previous to the final examination.

28. The examinations for degrees will not include any subjects connected with religious belief; and the affiliated institutions will be under the management of persons of every variety of religious persuasion. As in England, various institutions in immediate connection with the Church of England, the Presbyterian College at Caermarthen, the Roman Catholic College at Oscott, the Wesleyan College at Sheffield, the Baptist College at Bristol, and the Countess of Huntingdon's College at Cheshunt, are among the institutions from which the London University is empowered to receive certificates for degrees, so in India, institutions conducted by all denominations of Christians, Hindoos, Mahomedans, Parsees, Sikhs, Bhuddists, Jains, or any other religious persuasions, may be affiliated to the universities, if they are found to afford the requisite course of

study, and can be depended upon for the certificates of conduct which will be required.

29. The detailed regulations for the examinations for degrees should be framed with a due regard for all classes of the affiliated institutions ; and we will only observe upon this subject, that the standard for common degrees will require to be fixed with very great judgment. There are many persons who well deserve the distinction of an academical degree, as the recognition of a liberal education, who could not hope to obtain it, if the examination was as difficult as that for the senior Government scholarships ; and the standard required should be such as to command respect, without discouraging the efforts of deserving students, which would be a great obstacle to the success of the universities. In the competitions for honours, which, as in the London University, will follow the examinations for degrees, care should be taken to maintain such a standard as will afford a guarantee for high ability and valuable attainments ; the subjects for examination being so selected as to include the best portions of the different schemes of study pursued at the affiliated institutions.

30. It will be advisable to institute, in connection with the universities, professorships for the purpose of the delivery of lectures in various branches of learning, for the acquisition of which, at any rate in an advanced degree, facilities do

not now exist in other institutions in India. Law is the most important of these subjects; and it will be for you to consider whether, as was proposed in the plan of the Council of Education to which we have before referred, the attendance upon certain lectures, and the attainment of a degree in law, may not, for the future, be made a qualification for vakeels and moonsiffs, instead of, or in addition to, the present system of examination, which must, however, be continued in places not within easy reach of an university.

31. Civil engineering is another subject of importance, the advantages of which, as a profession, are gradually becoming known to the natives of India; and while we are inclined to believe that instruction of a practical nature, such as is given at the Thomason College of Civil Engineering at Roorkee, is far more useful than any lectures could possibly be, professorships of civil engineering might perhaps be attached to the universities, and degrees in civil engineering be included in their general scheme.

32. Other branches of useful learning may suggest themselves to you, in which it might be advisable that lectures should be read, and special degrees given; and it would greatly encourage the cultivation of the vernacular languages of India that professorships should be founded for those languages, and, perhaps, also for Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian. A knowledge of the Sanskrit lan-

guage, the root of the vernaculars of the greater part of India, is more especially necessary to those who are engaged in the work of composition in those languages ; while Arabic, through Persian, is one of the component parts of the Urdu language, which extends over so large a part of Hindostan, and is, we are informed, capable of considerable development. The grammar of these languages, and their application to the improvement of the spoken languages of the country, are the points to which the attention of these professors should be mainly directed ; and there will be an ample field for their labours unconnected with any instruction in the tenets of the Hindoo or Mahomedan religions. We should refuse to sanction any such teaching, as directly opposed to the principle of religious neutrality to which we have always adhered.

33. We desire that you take into your consideration the institution of universities at Calcutta and Bombay, upon the general principles which we have now explained to you, and report to us upon the best method of procedure, with a view to their incorporation by Acts of the Legislative Council of India. The offices of Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor will naturally be filled by persons of high station, who have shown an interest in the cause of education ; and it is in connection with the universities that we propose to avail ourselves of the services of the existing Council of Education at Calcutta, and

Board of Education at Bombay. We wish to place these gentlemen in a position which will not only mark our sense of the exertions which they have made in furtherance of education, but will give it the benefit of their past experience of the subject. We propose, therefore, that the Council of Education at Calcutta, and the Board of Education at Bombay, with some additional members to be named by the Government, shall constitute the Senate of the University at each of those Presidencies.

34. The additional members should be so selected as to give to all those who represent the different systems of education which will be carried on in the affiliated institutions—including natives of India, of all religious persuasions, who possess the confidence of the native communities—a fair voice in the senates. We are led to make these remarks, as we observe that the plan of the Council of Education, in 1845, for the constitution of the Senate of the proposed Calcutta University, was not sufficiently comprehensive.

35. We shall be ready to sanction the creation of an university at Madras, or in any other part of India where a sufficient number of institutions exist from which properly qualified candidates for degrees could be supplied; it being in our opinion advisable that the great centres of European government and civilization in India should possess universities similar in character to those which will now be founded, as soon as the exten-

sion of a liberal education shows that their establishment would be of advantage to the native communities.

36. Having provided for the general superintendence of education, and for the institution of universities, not so much to be in themselves places of instruction, as to test the value of the education obtained elsewhere, we proceed to consider, first, the different classes of colleges, and schools, which should be maintained in simultaneous operation, in order to place within the reach of all classes of the natives of India the means of obtaining improved knowledge suited to their several conditions of life; and, secondly, the manner in which the most effectual aid may be rendered by Government, to each class of educational institutions.

37. The candidates for university degrees will, as we have already explained, be supplied by colleges affiliated to the universities. These will comprise all such institutions as are capable of supplying a sufficiently high order of instruction in the different branches of art and science, in which university degrees will be accorded. The Hindoo, Hooghly, Dacca, Kishnagur, and Berhampore Government Anglo-vernacular Colleges, the Sanskrit College, the Mahomedan Madrissas, and the Medical College, in Bengal; the Elphinstone Institution, the Poonah College, and the Grant Medical College, in Bombay; the Delhi, Agra,

Benares, Bareilly, and Thomason Colleges, in the North-western Provinces; seminaries, such as the Oriental Seminary in Calcutta, which have been established by highly educated natives, a class of places of instruction which we are glad to learn is daily increasing in numbers and efficiency; those which, like the Parental Academy, are conducted by East Indians; Bishop's College, the General Assembly's Institution, Dr. Duff's College, the Baptist College at Serampore, and other institutions under the superintendence of different religious bodies and missionary societies; will, at once, supply a considerable number of educational establishments, worthy of being affiliated to the universities, and of occupying the highest place in the scale of general instruction.

38. The affiliated institutions will be periodically visited by Government inspectors; and a spirit of honourable rivalry, tending to preserve their efficiency, will be promoted by this, as well as by the competition of their most distinguished students for university honours. Scholarships should be attached to them, to be held by the best students of lower schools; and their scheme of education should provide, in the Anglo-vernacular colleges, for a careful cultivation of the vernacular languages; and, in the Oriental Colleges, for sufficient instruction in the English and vernacular languages, so as to render the studies of each most available for that general diffusion of European

knowledge which is the main object of education in India.

39. It is to this class of institutions that the attention of Government has hitherto been principally directed, and they absorb the greater part of the public funds which are now applied to educational purposes. The wise abandonment of the early views with respect to native education, which erroneously pointed to the classical languages of the East as the media for imparting European knowledge, together with the small amount of pecuniary aid which, in the then financial condition of India, was at your command, has led, we think, to too exclusive * a direction of the efforts

* The remarks of the Despatch in sections 39 and 40 should be very carefully considered; next in importance to section 62, they are those which have been mainly relied on by the advocates of the "abolition or transference" of the State Colleges.

The words "too *exclusive* a direction of the efforts of Government towards providing the means of acquiring a *very high degree* of education for a *small number* of natives of India, drawn for the most part from what we should here call the higher classes," do not by any means imply that those efforts should thenceforward be "*diverted*" to other objects. The true inference is, that the efforts of Government should not be exclusively *confined* to this one object; they should be *extended* to other objects, without relaxing diligence in the attainment of this one. Moreover, the "*very high degree*" of education is that referred to in section 29, as the standard of the senior Government scholarships.

Section 40 opens with a positive statement of that "downward filtration theory," on which so much contempt has been expended by the opponents of high education in India.

The statement that "the higher classes are both able and willing, in many cases, to bear a considerable part at least of

of Government towards providing the means of acquiring a very high degree of education for a small number of natives of India, drawn, for the most part, from what we should here call the higher classes.

40. It is well that every opportunity should

the cost of their education" has been fully acted upon in fixing the enormous fees for students in Government Colleges—fees which Sir George Campbell (in his Administration Report for 1871-72) declared to be, "regard being had to the relative value of money, about equal to a tuition-fee of £100 per annum in England." Sir George Campbell added, "It is only owing to our exceedingly liberal system of Government scholarships that the high fees are rendered tolerable to the middle and lower classes." And on this subject generally, see chapter vi.

The "artificial stimulus" referred to in the same sentence as "creating a demand for such an education as is conveyed in the Government Anglo-vernacular Colleges," of course refers to what Sir George Campbell calls "our exceedingly liberal system of Government scholarships." This is shown still more clearly in section 64. The system in early times was undoubtedly "an exceedingly liberal" one, for the number of scholarships was relatively large in comparison with the number of competitors. This is certainly not now the case; and the "artificial stimulus" has long ceased to be anything more than what is described by Sir George Campbell as a means of rendering "tolerable" the high tuition-fees.

But the question at issue is—as far as these sections are concerned—absolutely set at rest by the use of the words, "In ADDITION to this" (the "establishment and support" of State colleges), "we are now prepared," &c. So far from *withdrawing* any support, the Despatch directs further encouragement to be offered to the higher education, by the establishment of Universities, and in other ways. In the next chapter I shall show this even more decisively, by reference to the interpretation put on this Despatch by the subsequent explanatory Despatch of 1859.

have been given to those classes for the acquisition of a liberal European education, the effects of which may be expected slowly to pervade the rest of their fellow-countrymen, and to raise, in the end, the educational tone of the whole country. We are, therefore, far from underrating the importance, or the success, of the efforts which have been made in this direction ; but the higher classes are both able and willing, in many cases, to bear a considerable part at least of the cost of their education ; and it is abundantly evident that in some parts of India no artificial stimulus is any longer required in order to create a demand for such an education as is conveyed in the Government Anglo-vernacular colleges. We have, by the establishment and support of these colleges, pointed out the manner in which a liberal education is to be obtained, and assisted them to a very considerable extent from the public funds. In addition to this, we are now prepared to give, by sanctioning the establishment of universities, full development to the highest course of education to which the natives of India, or of any other country, can aspire ; and besides, by the division of university degrees and distinctions into different branches, the exertions of highly educated men will be directed to the studies which are necessary to success in the various active professions of life. We shall, therefore, have done as much as a Government can do to place the benefits of educa-

tion plainly and practically before the higher classes in India.

41. Our attention should now be directed to a consideration, if possible, still more important, and one which has been hitherto, we are bound to admit, too much neglected; namely, how useful and practical knowledge, suited to every station in life, may be best conveyed to the great mass of the people, who are utterly incapable of obtaining any education worthy of the name by their own unaided efforts; and we desire to see the active measures of Government more especially directed, for the future, to this object, for the attainment of which we are ready to sanction a considerable increase of expenditure.*

42. Schools whose object should be, not to train highly a few youths, but to provide more opportunities than now exist for the acquisition of such an improved education as will make those who possess it more useful members of society in every condition of life—should exist in every district in India. These schools should be subject to constant and careful inspection; and their pupils might be encouraged by scholarships being instituted at other institutions, which would be

* This section (41) shows that the lower education is not to be *exclusively* the object of the "active measures of the Government;" but only "more especially for the future" than it had been in the past. And the cost is to be defrayed, not by any "setting free" of funds devoted to the higher education, but by "a considerable increase of expenditure."

tenable as rewards for merit by the best of their number.

43. We include in this class of institutions those which, like the Zillah schools of Bengal, the district Government Anglo-vernacular schools of Bombay, and such as have been established by the Raja of Burdwan and other native gentlemen in different parts of India, use the English language as the chief medium of instruction ; as well as others of an inferior order, such as the Tahsili schools in the North-western Provinces, and the Government vernacular schools in the Bombay Presidency, whose object is, however imperfectly it has been as yet carried out, to convey the highest class of instruction which can now be taught through the medium of the vernacular languages.

44. We include these Anglo-vernacular and vernacular schools in the same class, because we are unwilling to maintain the broad line of separation which at present exists between schools in which the media for imparting instruction differ. The knowledge conveyed is, no doubt, at the present time, much higher in the Anglo-vernacular than in the vernacular schools ; but the difference will become less marked, and the latter more efficient, as the gradual enrichment of the vernacular languages in works of education allows their schemes of study to be enlarged, and as a more numerous class of schoolmasters is raised up able to impart a superior education.

45. It is indispensable, in order fully and efficiently to carry out our views as to these schools, that their masters should possess a knowledge of English in order to acquire, and of the vernaculars so as readily to convey, useful knowledge to their pupils; but we are aware that it is impossible to obtain at present the services of a sufficient number of persons so qualified, and that such a class must be gradually collected, and trained in the manner to which we shall hereafter allude. In the meantime you must make the best use which is possible of such instruments as are now at your command.

46. Lastly, what have been termed indigenous schools, should by wise encouragement, such as has been given under the system organized by Mr. Thomason in the North-western Provinces, and which has been carried out in eight districts under the able direction of Mr. H. S. Reid in an eminently practical manner, and with great promise of satisfactory results, be made capable of imparting correct elementary knowledge to the great mass of the people. The most promising pupils of these schools might be rewarded by scholarships in places of education of a superior order.

47. Such a system as this, placed in all its degrees under efficient inspection; beginning with the humblest elementary instruction, and ending with the university test of a liberal education; the best students in each class of schools being

encouraged by the aid afforded them towards obtaining a superior education as the reward of merit, by means of such a system of scholarships as we shall have to describe, would, we firmly believe, impart life and energy to education in India, and lead to a gradual, but steady, extension of its benefits to all classes of the people.

48. When we consider the vast population of British India, and the sums which are now expended upon educational efforts, which, however successful in themselves, have reached but an insignificant number of those who are of a proper age to receive school instruction, we cannot but be impressed with the almost insuperable difficulties which would attend such an extension of the present system of education by means of colleges and schools entirely supported at the cost of Government, as might be hoped to supply, in any reasonable time, so gigantic a deficiency, and to provide adequate means for setting on foot such a system as we have described, and desire to see established.

49. Nor is it necessary that we should depend entirely upon the direct efforts of Government. We are glad to recognize an increased desire on the part of the native population, not only in the neighbourhood of the great centres of European civilization, but also in remoter districts, for the means of obtaining a better education; and we have evidence in many instances of their readiness

to give a practical proof of their anxiety in this respect by coming forward with liberal pecuniary contributions. Throughout all ages, learned Hindoos and Mahomedans have devoted themselves to teaching, with little other remuneration than a bare subsistence; and munificent bequests have not unfrequently been made for the permanent endowment of educational institutions.

50. At the same time, in so far as the noble exertions of societies of Christians of all denominations to guide the natives of India in the way of religious truth, and to instruct uncivilized races, such as those found in Assam, in the Cossya, Garrow, and Rajmehal hills, and in various districts of Central and Southern India (who are in the lowest condition of ignorance, and are either wholly without a religion, or are the slaves of a degrading and barbarous superstition), have been accompanied, in their educational establishments, by the diffusion of improved knowledge, they have largely contributed to the spread of that education which it is our object to promote.

51. The consideration of the impossibility of Government alone doing all that must be done in order to provide adequate means for the education of the natives of India, and of the ready assistance which may be derived from efforts which have hitherto received but little encouragement from the State, has led us to the natural conclusion that the most effectual method of providing for the wants

of India in this respect will be to combine with the agency of the Government the aid which may be derived from the exertions and liberality of the educated and wealthy natives of India, and of other benevolent persons.

52. We have, therefore, resolved to adopt in India the system of grants in aid, which has been carried out in this country with very great success; and we confidently anticipate, by thus drawing support from local resources, in addition to contributions from the State, a far more rapid progress of education than would follow a mere increase of expenditure by the Government; while it possesses the additional advantage of fostering a spirit of reliance upon local exertions and combination for local purposes, which is of itself of no mean importance to the well-being of a nation.

53. The system of grants in aid which we propose to establish in India will be based on an entire abstinence from interference with the religious instruction conveyed in the schools assisted. Aid will be given (so far as the requirements of each particular district, as compared with others, and the funds at the disposal of Government may render it possible) to all schools which impart a good secular education, provided that they are under adequate local management (by the term "local management," we understand one or more persons, such as private patrons, voluntary subscribers, or the trustees of endowments, who will

undertake the general superintendence of the school, and be answerable for its permanence for some given time); and provided also that their managers consent that the schools shall be subject to Government inspection, and agree to any conditions which may be laid down for the regulation of such grants.

54. It has been found by experience, in this and in other countries, that not only is an entirely gratuitous education valued far less by those who receive it than one for which some payment, however small, is made, but that the payment induces a more regular attendance, and greater exertion, on the part of the pupils; and, for this reason, as well as because school fees themselves, insignificant as they may be in each individual instance, will, in the aggregate, when applied to the support of a better class of masters, become of very considerable importance, we desire that grants in aid shall, as a general principle, be made to such schools only (with the exception of normal schools) as require some fee, however small, from their scholars.

55. Careful consideration will be required in framing rules for the administration of the grants; and the same course should be adopted in India which has been pursued with obvious advantage by the Committee of Council here, namely, to appropriate the grants to specific objects, and not (except, perhaps, in the case of normal schools) to apply them in the form of simple contributions in

aid of the general expenses of a school. The augmentation of the salaries of the head teachers, and the supply of junior teachers, will probably be found in India, as with us, to be the most important objects to which the grants can ordinarily be appropriated. The foundation, or assistance in the foundation, of scholarships for candidates from lower schools, will also be a proper object for the application of grants in aid. In some cases, assistance towards erecting, or repairing, a school, or the provision of an adequate supply of school books, may be required; but the appropriation of the grant in each particular instance should be regulated by the peculiar circumstances of each school and district.

56. The amount, and continuance of the assistance given will depend upon the periodical reports of inspectors, who will be selected with special reference to their possessing the confidence of the native communities. In their periodical inspections, no notice whatsoever should be taken by them of the religious doctrines which may be taught in any school; and their duty should be strictly confined to ascertaining whether the secular knowledge conveyed is such as to entitle it to consideration in the distribution of the sum which will be applied to grants in aid. They should also assist in the establishment of schools, by their advice, wherever they may have opportunities of doing so.

57. We confide the practical adaptation of the general principles we have laid down as to grants in aid to your discretion, aided by the educational departments of the different Presidencies. In carrying into effect our views, which apply alike to all schools and institutions, whether male or female, Anglo-vernacular or vernacular, it is of the greatest importance that the conditions under which schools will be assisted should be clearly and publicly placed before the natives of India. For this purpose Government notifications should be drawn up, and promulgated, in the different vernacular languages. It may be advisable distinctly to assert in them the principle of perfect religious neutrality on which the grants will be awarded; and care should be taken to avoid holding out expectations which, from any cause, may be liable to disappointment.

58. There will be little difficulty in the application of this system of grants in aid to the higher order of places of instruction in India in which English is at present the medium of education.

59. Grants in aid will also at once give assistance to all such Anglo-vernacular and vernacular schools as impart a good elementary education; but we fear that the number of this class of schools is at present inconsiderable, and that such as are in existence require great improvement.

60. A more minute and constant local supervision than would accompany the general system of grants in aid will be necessary in order to raise the

character of the "indigenous schools," which are, at present, not only very inefficient in quality, but of exceedingly precarious duration, as is amply shown by the statistics collected by Mr. Adam in Bengal and Behar, and from the very important information we have received of late years from the North-western Provinces. In organizing such a system, we cannot do better than to refer you to the manner in which the operations of Mr. Reid have been conducted in the North-western Provinces, and to the instructions given by him to the zillah and pergunnah visitors, and contained in the Appendix to his First Report.

61. We desire to see local management under Government inspection, and assisted by grants in aid, taken advantage of wherever it is possible to do so, and that no Government colleges or schools shall be founded, for the future, in any district where a sufficient number of institutions exist, capable, with assistance from the State, of supplying the local demand for education. But, in order fully to carry out the views we have expressed with regard to the adequate provision of schools throughout the country, it will probably be necessary, for some years, to supply the wants of particular parts of India by the establishment, temporary support, and management of places of education of every class in districts where there is little or no prospect of adequate local efforts being made for this purpose, but where, nevertheless, they are urgently required.

62. We look forward* to the time when any general system of education entirely provided by

* This section (62) is of course the *cheval de bataille* of the opponents of the State Colleges. The phrase adopted by the General Council of Education and by most writers on their side of the question, "the Abolition or transference of Government Colleges and High Schools in India," is obviously meant as a gloss on one of the phrases of this section. I believe it to be a gloss that entirely changes the meaning of the original; and I will endeavour to prove this.

The Despatch looks forward "to the time when any *general* system of education *entirely* provided by Government may be discontinued, with the gradual advance of the system of grants in aid." That expectation has long since been realized in every province of India—more completely in the more advanced provinces, such as Bengal—less completely, but still very largely, in more backward provinces. There are now in Bengal 303 Colleges and Schools supported by Government; there are 40,490 aided Colleges and Schools. The Government expenditure on education in Bengal during the past year has been Rs. 22,64,000; the contributions from fees and private sources amounted to Rs. 28,56,000! It will hardly be maintained that this is anything like a "*general* system of education *entirely* maintained by Government."

The Despatch further looks forward to the time "when *many* of the existing Government institutions, especially those of the higher order, may be safely closed, or transferred to the management of local bodies under the control of, and aided by, the State." Now, many people will be surprised to find that the sentence I have here quoted is the *only one* (except a cursory reference in section 86) in the whole Despatch that can, by any stress of interpretation, be held to give even a shadow of foundation for the theories of the abolitionists; and a careful examination of the context will show (1) that no reference whatever is here made or intended to the State Colleges, and (2) that no other educational institution of any kind is to be abandoned or transferred unless its place can be fully and adequately supplied. The authors of the Despatch distinctly say, in the very next sentence, "it is far from our wish to check the spread of education in the slightest degree by the abandonment of a

Government may be discontinued, with the gradual advance of the system of grants in aid, and when many of the existing Government institutions, especially those of the higher order, may be safely closed, or transferred to the management of local bodies under the control of, and aided by, the State. But it is far from our wish to check the spread of education in the slightest degree by the abandonment of a single school to probable decay ;

single school." They say nothing whatever, in this connection, of the Colleges. I shall show, in chapter vii., that the exact functions of the State Colleges cannot possibly be *fully and adequately* performed by institutions conducted or controlled in any other way ; but whether this be admitted or not, I am fully convinced that the whole wording of the section points, not to any radical and violent change in our system of high education, such as would be involved in the adoption of the "abolition or transference" scheme *en bloc*—but to the gradual enlistment of local management and local contributions (entire local control is distinctly barred) for such *schools* "of the higher order" as may fairly be commended (and are already often commended) to the attention of municipalities or district educational committees. Such a natural and progressive development of the grant-in-aid system was wisely and justly anticipated by the authors of the Despatch in these sentences ; such a development has already been taking place, and will doubtless proceed further. But it is absurd to suppose that a violent and disastrous revolution, such as that proposed by Mr. Howell and the General Council on Education, was contemplated in the exceedingly cautious words whose meaning has been so marvelously exaggerated and distorted. Every other important change that is proposed in the Despatch is discussed and explained in the clearest terms and at great length ; and yet the abolitionists support a proposal of the gravest importance on a single sentence, which even they must admit to be (to say the least of it) of doubtful application to the case in point.

and we, therefore, entirely confide in your discretion, and in that of the different local authorities, while keeping this object steadily in view, to act with caution, and to be guided by special reference to the particular circumstances which affect the demand for education in different parts of India.

63. The system of free and stipendiary scholarships, to which we have already more than once referred as a connecting link between the different grades of educational institutions, will require some revision and extension in carrying out our enlarged educational plan. We wish to see the object proposed by Lord Auckland, in 1839, "of connecting the zillah schools with the central colleges, by attaching to the latter scholarships to which the best scholars of the former might be eligible," more fully carried out; and also, as the measures we now propose assume an organized form, that the same system may be adopted with regard to schools of a lower description, and that the best pupils of the inferior schools shall be provided for by means of scholarships in schools of a higher order, so that superior talent in every class may receive that encouragement and development which it deserves. The amount of the stipendiary scholarships should be fixed at such a sum as may be considered sufficient for the maintenance of the holders of them at the colleges or schools to which they are attached, and which may often be at a distance from the home of the students. We think

it desirable that this system of scholarships should be carried out, not only in connection with those places of education which are under the immediate superintendence of the State, but in all educational institutions which will now be brought into our general system.

64. We are, at the same time, of opinion that the expenditure upon existing Government scholarships, other than those to which we have referred, which amounts to a considerable sum, should be gradually reduced, with the requisite regard for the claims of the present holders of them. The encouragement of young men of ability, but of slender means, to pursue their studies, is no doubt both useful and benevolent, and we have no wish to interfere with the private endowments which have been devoted to so laudable an object, or to withdraw the additions which may have been made by us to any such endowments. But the funds at the disposal of Government are limited, and we doubt the expediency of applying them to the encouragement of the acquisition of learning, by means of stipends which not only far exceed the cost of the maintenance of the student, but in many cases are above what he could reasonably expect to gain on entering the public service, or any of the active professions of life.*

* Here we have, obviously, the "artificial stimulus" referred to in section 40. It is, perhaps, needless to say that this "artificial stimulus" has long ago been withdrawn.

65. We shall, however, offer encouragements to education which will tend to more practical results than those scholarships. By giving to persons who possess an aptness for teaching, as well as the requisite standard of acquirements, and who are willing to devote themselves to the profession of schoolmaster, moderate monthly allowances for their support during the time which it may be requisite for them to pass in normal schools, or classes, in order to acquire the necessary training, we shall assist many deserving students to qualify themselves for a career of practical usefulness, and one which shall secure them an honourable competence through life. We are also of opinion, that admission to places of instruction, which, like the medical and engineering colleges, are maintained by the State, for the purpose of educating persons for special employments under Government, might be made the rewards of industry and ability, and thus supply a practical encouragement to general education, similar to that which will be afforded by the educational service.

66. The establishment of universities will offer considerable further inducements for the attainment of high proficiency, and thus supply the place of the present senior scholarships, with this additional advantage, that a greater number of subjects in which distinction can be gained will be offered to the choice of students than can be comprised in one uniform examination for a scholarship,

and that their studies will thus be practically directed into channels which will aid them in the different professions of life which they may afterwards adopt.

67. In England, when systematic attempts began to be made for the improvement of education, one of the chief defects was found to be the insufficient number of qualified schoolmasters, and the imperfect method of teaching which prevailed. This led to the foundation of normal and model schools for the training of masters, and the exemplification of the best methods for the organization, discipline, and instruction of elementary schools. This deficiency has been the more palpably felt in India, as the difficulty of finding persons properly educated for the work of tuition is greater; and we desire to see the establishment, with as little delay as possible, of training schools, and classes for masters, in each Presidency in India. It will probably be found that some of the existing institutions may be adapted, wholly or partially, to this purpose, with less difficulty than would attend the establishment of entirely new schools.

68. We cannot do better than refer you to the plan which has been adopted in Great Britain for this object, and which appears to us to be capable of easy adaptation to India. It mainly consists, as you will perceive on reference to the Minutes of the Committee of Council, copies of which we enclose, in the selection and stipend of pupil teach-

ers (awarding a small payment to the masters of the schools in which they are employed, for their instruction out of school hours); their ultimate removal, if they prove worthy, to normal schools; the issue to them of certificates on the completion of their training in those normal schools; and in securing to them a sufficient salary when they are afterwards employed as schoolmasters. This system should be carried out in India, both in the Government colleges and schools, and, by means of grants in aid, in all institutions which are brought under Government inspection. The amount of the stipends to pupil teachers and students at normal schools should be fixed with great care. The former should receive moderate allowances rather above the sum which they would earn if they left school, and the stipends to the latter should be regulated by the same principle which we have laid down with respect to scholarships.

69. You will be called upon, in carrying these measures into effect, to take into consideration the position and prospects of the numerous class of natives of India who are ready to undertake the important duty of educating their fellow-countrymen. The late extension of the pension regulations of 1831 to the educational service may require to be adapted to the revised regulations in this respect; and our wish is that the profession of schoolmaster may, for the future, afford inducements to the natives of India such as are held out

in other branches of the public service.* The provision of such a class of schoolmasters as we wish to see must be a work of time; and, in encouraging the “indigenous schools,” our present aim should be to improve the teachers whom we find in possession, and to take care not to provoke the hostility of this class of persons, whose influence is so great over the minds of the lower classes, by superseding them where it is possible to avoid it. They should, moreover, be encouraged to attend the normal schools and classes which may hereafter be instituted for this class of teachers.

70. Equal in importance to the training of schoolmasters is the provision of vernacular school books, which shall provide European information to be the object of study in the lower classes of schools. Something has, no doubt, been done, of late years, towards this end, but more still remains to be done; and we believe that deficiencies might be readily and speedily supplied by the adoption of a course recommended by Mr. M. Elphinstone in 1825, namely, “That the best translations of particular books, or the best elementary treatises in specified languages, should be advertised for, and liberally rewarded.”†

* This pledge has never been fulfilled; and I hope that Lord Ripon’s commission will bravely call attention to the fact.

† In the year 1874, Mr. C. B. Clarke, M.A. (Fellow of Queen’s College, Cambridge, and Senior Inspector of schools in Bengal), and I brought out a series of Bengali translations of some of the best English text-books at our own expense

71. The aim should be, in compilations, and original compositions (to quote from one of Mr. Adam's valuable reports upon the state of education in Bengal), "Not to translate European works into the words and idioms of the native languages, but so to combine the substance of European knowledge with native forms of thought and sentiment as to render the school books useful and attractive." We also refer with pleasure upon this point to some valuable observations by Mr. Reid, in his report which we have quoted before, more especially as regards instruction in geography. It is obvious that the local peculiarities of different parts of India render it necessary that the class-books in each should be specially adapted to the feelings, sympathies, and history of the people; and we will only further remark upon this subject, that the Oriental colleges, besides generally tending, as we have before observed, to the enrichment of the vernacular languages, may, we think, be made of great use in the translation of scientific works into

and risk. We procured from Messrs. Macmillan the run of their unrivalled list of text-books. We obtained the assistance of the most accomplished Bengali scholars that were available as translators. We published such undeniable authorities as Roscoe's *Chemistry*, Todhunter's *Mensuration*, etc. Mr. Elphinstone's recommendation has certainly not been carried out in our case; for the net result of our little venture has been the loss of more than Rs. 4,000. I mention this, not in any complaining spirit, but as an illustration of the difficulties that sometimes beset even the most carefully-considered plans of reform.

those languages, as has already been done to some extent in the Delhi, Benares, and Poonah colleges.

72. We have always been of opinion that the spread of education in India will produce a greater efficiency in all branches of administration, by enabling you to obtain the services of intelligent and trustworthy persons in every department of Government; and, on the other hand, we believe that the numerous vacancies of different kinds which have constantly to be filled up, may afford a great stimulus to education. The first object must be to select persons properly qualified to fill these situations; secondary to this is the consideration how far they may be so distributed as to encourage popular education.

73. The resolutions of our Governor-general in Council of the 10th of October, 1844, gave a general preference to well educated over uneducated men in the admissions to the public service. We perceive, with much satisfaction, both from returns which we have recently received of the persons appointed since that year in the Revenue Department of Bengal, as well as from the educational reports from different parts of India, that a very considerable number of educated men have been employed under Government of late years; and we understand that it is often not so much the want of Government employment as the want of properly qualified persons to be employed by

Government, which is felt, at the present time, in many parts of India.

74. We shall not enter upon the causes which, as we foresaw, have led to the failure of that part of the resolutions which provided for the annual submission to Government of lists of meritorious students. It is sufficient for our present purpose to observe that no more than forty-six persons have been gazetted in Bengal up to this time, all of whom were students in the Government colleges. In the last year for which we have returns (1852), only two persons were so distinguished; and we can readily believe, with the Secretary to the Board of Revenue in Bengal, that young men who have passed a difficult examination in the highest branches of philosophy and mathematics, are naturally disinclined to accept such employment as persons who intend to make the public service their profession must necessarily commence with.

75. The necessity for any such lists will be done away with by the establishment of universities, as the acquisition of a degree, and still more the attainment of university distinctions, will bring highly educated young men under the notice of Government. The resolutions in question will, therefore, require revision so as to adapt them practically to carry out our views upon this subject. What we desire is, that, where the other qualifications of the candidates for appointments under Government are equal, a person who has received a good

education, irrespective of the place or manner in which it may have been acquired, should be preferred to one who has not; and that, even in lower situations, a man who can read and write be preferred to one who cannot, if he is equally eligible in other respects.

76. We also approve of the institution of examinations where practicable, to be simply and entirely tests of the fitness of candidates for the special duties of the various departments in which they are seeking employment, as has been the case in the Bombay Presidency. We confidently commit the encouragement of educated in preference to uneducated men to the different officers who are responsible for their selection; and we cannot interfere by any further regulations to fetter their free choice in a matter of which they bear the sole responsibility.

77. We are sanguine enough to believe that some effect has already been produced by the improved education of the public service in India. The ability and integrity of a large and increasing number of the native judges, to whom the greater part of the civil jurisdiction in India is now committed, and the high estimation in which many among them are held by their fellow-countrymen, is, in our opinion, much to be attributed to the progress of education among these officers, and to their adoption along with it of that high moral tone which pervades the general literature of

Europe. Nor is it among the higher officers alone that we have direct evidence of the advantage which the public derives from the employment of educated men. We quote from the last Report of the Dacca College with particular satisfaction, as we are aware that much of the happiness of the people of India depends upon the honesty of the officers of police:—"The best possible evidence has been furnished," says the local committee, "that some of the ex-students of the college of Dacca have completely succeeded in the arduous office of darogha. Krishna Chunder Dutt, employed as a darogha under the magistrate of Howrah, in particular, is recommended for promotion, as having gained the respect and applause of all classes, who, though they may not practise, yet know how to admire, real honesty and integrity of purpose."*

78. But, however large the number of appointments under Government may be, the views of the natives of India should be directed to the far wider and more important sphere of usefulness and advantage which a liberal education lays open to them; and such practical benefits arising from improved knowledge should be constantly impressed upon them by those who know their feel-

* I should much like to know how Dr. Murdoch and the General Council on Education harmonise section 77 with their bold statements about the immorality, disloyalty, &c., of the students educated in our State Colleges. On this point see chapter iv.

ings, and have influence or authority to advise or direct their efforts. We refer, as an example in this respect, with mingled pleasure and regret, to the eloquent addresses delivered by the late Mr. Bethune, when President of the Council of Education, to the students of the Kishnagur and Dacca Colleges.

79. There are some other points connected with the general subject of education in India upon which we will now briefly remark. We have always regarded with special interest those educational institutions which have been directed towards training up the natives of India to particular professions, both with a view to their useful employment in the public service, and to enable them to pursue active and profitable occupations in life. The medical colleges in different parts of India have proved that, in despite of difficulties which appeared at first sight to be insurmountable, the highest attainments in medicine and surgery are within the reach of educated natives of India: we shall be ready to aid in the establishment and support of such places of instruction as the medical colleges of Calcutta and Bombay, in other parts of India. We have already alluded to the manner in which students should be supplied to these colleges, as well as to those for the training of civil engineers.

80. The success of the Thomason College of Civil Engineering at Roorkee has shown that, for

the purpose of training up persons capable of carrying out the great works which are in progress under Government throughout India, and to qualify the natives of India for the exercise of a profession which, now that the system of railways and public works is being rapidly extended, will afford an opening for a very large number of persons, it is expedient that similar places for practical instruction in civil engineering should be established in other parts of India, and especially in the Presidency of Madras, where works of irrigation are so essential, not only to the prosperity of the country, but to the very existence of the people in times of drought and scarcity. The subject has been prominently brought under your notice in the recent reports of the Public Works Commissioners for the different Presidencies; and we trust that immediate measures will be taken to supply a deficiency which is, at present, but too apparent.

81. We may notice, in connection with these two classes of institutions of an essentially practical character, the schools of industry and design, which have been set on foot from time to time in different parts of India. We have lately received a very encouraging report of that established by Dr. Hunter in Madras; and we have also been informed that Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, with his accustomed munificence, has offered to lay out a very considerable sum upon a like school in Bombay. Such institutions as these will, in the end,

be self-supporting ; but we are ready to assist in their establishment by grants in aid for the supply of models, and other assistance which they may advantageously derive from the increased attention which has been paid of late years to such subjects in this country. We enclose you the copy of a report which we have received from Mr. Redgrave upon the progress of the Madras school, which may prove of great value in guiding the efforts of the promoters of any similar institutions which may hereafter be established in India. We have also perceived with satisfaction, that the attention of the Council of Education in Calcutta has been lately directed to the subject of attaching to each zillah school the means of teaching practical agriculture ; for there is, as Dr. Mouat most truly observes, “no single advantage that could be afforded to the vast rural population of India that would equal the introduction of an improved system of agriculture.”

82. The increasing desire of the Mahomedan population to acquire European knowledge has given us much satisfaction. We perceive that the Council of Education of Bengal has this subject under consideration, and we shall receive with favour any proposition which may appear to you to be likely to supply the wants of so large a portion of the natives of India.

83. The importance of female education in India cannot be overrated ; and we have observed with

pleasure the evidence which is now afforded of an increased desire on the part of many of the natives of India to give a good education to their daughters. By this means a far greater proportional impulse is imparted to the educational and moral tone of the people than by the education of men. We have already observed that schools for females are included among those to which grants in aid may be given ; and we cannot refrain from expressing our cordial sympathy with the efforts which are being made in this direction. Our Governor-general in Council has declared, in a communication to the Government of Bengal, that the Government ought to give to native female education in India its frank and cordial support ; in this we heartily concur, and we especially approve of the bestowal of marks of honour upon such native gentlemen as Rao Bahádur Magaubháí Karramchand, who devoted 20,000 rupees to the foundation of two native female schools in Ahmedabad, as by such means our desire for the extension of female education becomes generally known.

84. Considerable misapprehension appears to exist as to our views with respect to religious instruction in the Government institutions. Those institutions were founded for the benefit of the whole population of India ; and, in order to effect their object, it was, and is, indispensable that the education conveyed in them should be exclusively secular. The Bible is, we understand, placed in

the libraries of the colleges and schools, and the pupils are able freely to consult it. This is as it should be; and, moreover, we have no desire to prevent, or to discourage, any explanations which the pupils may, of their own free-will, ask from their masters upon the subject of the Christian religion, provided that such information be given out of school hours. Such instruction being entirely voluntary on both sides, it is necessary, in order to prevent the slightest suspicion of an intention on our part to make use of the influence of Government for the purpose of proselytism, that no notice shall be taken of it by the inspectors in their periodical visits.

85. Having now finished the sketch that we proposed to give of the scheme for the encouragement of education in India, which we desire to see gradually brought into operation, we proceed to make some observations upon the state of education in the several Presidencies, and to point out the parts of our general plan which are most deficient in each.

86. In Bengal, education through the medium of the English language has arrived at a higher point than in any other part of India. We are glad to receive constant evidence of an increasing demand for such an education, and of the readiness of the natives of different districts to exert themselves for the sake of obtaining it. There are now five Government Anglo-vernacular colleges; and

zillah schools have been established in nearly every district. We confidently expect that the introduction of the system of grants in aid will very largely increase the number of schools of a superior order; and we hope that, before long, sufficient provision may be found to exist in many parts of the country for the education of the middle and higher classes, independent of the Government institutions, which may then be closed, as has been already the case in Burdwan, in consequence of the enlightened conduct of the Raja of Burdwan, or they may be transferred to local management.*

87. Very little has, however, been hitherto done in Bengal for the education of the mass of the people, especially for their instruction through the medium of the vernacular languages. A few vernacular schools were founded by Government in 1844, of which only thirty-three now remain, with 1,400 pupils, and, upon their transfer, in April, 1852, from the charge of the Board of Revenue to that of the Council of Education, it

* If there were any doubt in section 62, as to the kind of educational institutions that might be closed on the provision of adequate substitutes, there can be none here. For we are distinctly told that the increase expected is in "schools of a superior order," for the "education of the middle and higher classes," such as the Raja of Burdwan's school, which is (fortunately for the correct interpretation of the passage) mentioned by name. The contingency contemplated is obviously the same as that thought of in section 62; and yet we hear nothing of this parallel passage from those who wish to interpret section 62 as favouring the "abolition or transference" of the State Colleges.

appeared that "they were in a languishing state, and had not fulfilled the expectations formed on their establishment."*

88. We have perused, with considerable interest, the report of Mr. Robinson, Inspector of the Assam schools, of which there appear to be seventy-four, with upwards of 3,000 pupils. Mr. Robinson's suggestions for the improvement of the system under which they are now managed appear to us to be worthy of consideration, and to approach very nearly to the principles upon which vernacular education has been encouraged in the North-western Provinces. We shall be prepared to sanction such measures as you may approve of, to carry out Mr. Robinson's views.

89. But the attention of the Government of Bengal should be seriously directed to the consideration of some plan for the encouragement of indigenous schools, and for the education of the lower classes, which, like that of Mr. Thomason in the North-western Provinces, may bring the benefits of education practically before them, and assist and direct their efforts. We are aware that the object held out by the Government of Agra to induce the agricultural classes to improve their education does not exist in Bengal; but we cannot

* Contrast this with the returns for 1881-82: 36,002 primary schools aided by Government, with 618,328 pupils! And yet we are told that primary education has been neglected! The promoters of the agitation must be sadly at fault for want of a good "cry."

doubt that there may be found other similar solid advantages attending elementary knowledge, which can be plainly and practically made apparent to the understandings and interests of the lower classes of Bengal.

90. We perceive that the scheme of study pursued in the Oriental colleges of Bengal is under the consideration of the Council of Education, and it appears that they are in an unsatisfactory condition. We have already sufficiently indicated our views as to those colleges, and we should be glad to see them placed upon such a footing as may make them of greater practical utility. The points which you have referred to us, in your letter of the 5th of May, relative to the establishment of a Presidency College at Calcutta, will form the subject of a separate communication.

91. In the North-western Provinces the demand for education is so limited by circumstances fully detailed by the Lieutenant-governor in one of his early reports, that it will probably be long before private efforts will become energetic enough to supply the place of the establishment, support, and management by Government, of places of instruction of the highest grade, where there may be a sufficient reason for their institution.

92. At the same time, the system for the promotion of general education throughout the country, by means of the inspection and encouragement of indigenous schools, has laid the founda-

tion of a great advancement in the education of the lower classes. Mr. Thomason ascertained, from statistical information, the lamentable state of ignorance in which the people were sunk, while the registration of land, which is necessary under the revenue settlement of the North-western Provinces, appeared to him to offer the stimulus of a direct interest for the acquisition of so much knowledge, at least of reading and writing, of the simple rules of arithmetic, and of land measurement, as would enable each man to look after his own rights.

93. He therefore organized a system of encouragement of indigenous schools, by means of a constant inspection by zillah and pergunnah visitors, under the superintendence of a visitor-general; while, at the head-quarters of each tahsildar, a school was established for the purpose of teaching "reading and writing the vernacular languages, both Urdu and Hindi accounts, and the mensuration of land." A school-house is provided by Government, and the masters of the Tahsili schools receive a small salary, and are further entitled to the tuition fees paid by the pupils, of whom none are educated gratuitously, except "on recommendations given by village schoolmasters who may be on the visitors' list." A certain sum is annually allotted to each zillah for the reward of deserving teachers and scholars; and the attention of the visitor-general was expressly directed

to the preparation of elementary school-books in the vernacular languages, which are sold through the agency of the zillah and the pergunnah visitors. We shall be prepared to sanction the gradual extension of some such system as this to the other districts of the Agra Presidency, and we have already referred to it as the model by which the efforts of other Presidencies for the same object should be guided.

94. In the Presidency of Bombay the character of the education conveyed in the Anglo-vernacular colleges is almost, if not quite, equal to that in Bengal; and the Elphinstone Institution is an instance of a college conducted in the main upon the principle of grant in aid, which we desire to see more extensively carried out. Considerable attention has also been paid in Bombay to education through the medium of the vernacular languages. It appears that 216 vernacular schools are under the management of the Board of Education, and that the number of pupils attending them is more than 12,000. There are three inspectors of the district schools, one of whom (Máhádeo Govind Shastri) is a native of India. The schools are reported to be improving, and masters trained in the Government colleges have been recently appointed to some of them with the happiest effects. These results are very creditable to the Presidency of Bombay; and we trust that each Government school will now be made a

centre from which the indigenous schools of the adjacent districts may be inspected and encouraged.

95. As the new revenue settlement is extended in the Bombay Presidency, there will, we apprehend, be found an inducement precisely similar to that which has been taken advantage of by Mr. Thomason, to make it the interest of the agricultural classes to acquire so much knowledge as will enable them to check the returns of the village accountants. We have learnt with satisfaction that the subject of gradually making some educational qualification necessary to the confirmation of these hereditary officers is under the consideration of the Government of Bombay, and that a practical educational test is now insisted upon for persons employed in many offices under Government.

96. In Madras, where little has yet been done by Government to promote the education of the mass of the people, we can only remark with satisfaction that the educational efforts of Christian missionaries have been more successful among the Tamul population than in any other part of India; and that the Presidency of Madras offers a fair field for the adoption of our scheme of education in its integrity, by founding Government Anglo-vernacular institutions only where no such places of instruction at present exist, which might, by grants in aid and other assistance, adequately

supply the educational wants of the people. We also perceive with satisfaction that Mr. Daniel Elliott, in a recent and most able minute upon the subject of education, has stated that Mr. Thomason's plan for the encouragement of indigenous schools might readily be introduced into the Madras Presidency, where the Ryotwari settlement offers a similar practical inducement to the people for the acquisition of elementary knowledge.

97. We have now concluded the observations which we think it is necessary to address to you upon the subject of the education of the natives of India. We have declared that our object is to extend European knowledge throughout all classes of the people. We have shown that this object must be effected by means of the English language in the higher branches of instruction, and by that of the vernacular languages of India to the great mass of the people. We have directed such a system of general superintendence and inspection by Government to be established, as will, if properly carried out, give efficiency and uniformity to your efforts. We propose by the institution of universities to provide the highest test and encouragement of a liberal education. By sanctioning grants in aid of private efforts, we hope to call to the assistance of Government private exertions and private liberality. The higher classes will now be gradually called upon to depend more upon them-

selves ; and your attention has been more especially directed to the education of the middle and lower classes, both by the establishment of fitting schools for this purpose, and by means of a careful encouragement of the native schools which exist, and have existed from time immemorial, in every village, and none of which perhaps cannot in some degree be made available to the end we have in view. We have noticed some particular points connected with education, and we have reviewed the condition of the different Presidencies in this respect, with a desire to point out what should be imitated, and what is wanting, in each.

98. We have only to add, in conclusion, that we commit this subject to you with a sincere belief that you will cordially co-operate with us in endeavouring to effect the great object we have in hand, and that we desire it should be authoritatively communicated to the principal officers of every district in India, that henceforth they are to consider it to be an important part of their duty, not only in that social intercourse with the natives of India, which we always learn with pleasure that they maintain, but also with all the influence of their high position, to aid in the extension of education, and to support the inspectors of schools by every means in their power.

99. We believe that the measures we have

determined upon are calculated to extend the benefits of education throughout India; but, at the same time, we must add that we are not sanguine enough to expect any sudden, or even speedy, results to follow from their adoption. To imbue a vast, and ignorant, population with a general desire for knowledge, and to take advantage of that desire when excited to improve the means for diffusing education amongst them, must be a work of many years; which, by the blessing of Divine Providence, may largely conduce to the moral and intellectual improvement of the natives of India.

100. As a Government, we can do no more than direct the efforts of the people, and aid them wherever they appear to require most assistance. The result depends more upon them than upon us; and although we are fully aware that the measures we have now adopted will involve in the end a much larger expenditure upon education from the revenues of India, or, in other words, from the taxation of the people of India, than is at present so applied, we are convinced, with Sir Thomas Munro, in words used many years since, that any expense which may be incurred for this object, "will be amply repaid by the improvement of the country; for the general diffusion of knowledge is inseparably followed by more orderly habits, by increasing industry, by a taste for the comforts of

life, by exertion to acquire them, and by the growing prosperity of the people."

We are, &c.

(Signed)	J. OLIPHANT.	W. J. EASTWICK.
	E. MACNAGHTEN.	R. D. MANGLES.
	C. MILLS.	J. P. WILLOUGHBY.
	R. ELLICE.	J. H. ASTELL.
	J. W. HOGG.	F. CURRIE.

CHAPTER III.

THE EDUCATION DESPATCH OF 1859.

THE Reverend James Johnston, in a *Note* affixed to a reprint of the despatch of 1854, says :—

This important despatch, which was sent out to the Indian Government in 1854, by Sir Charles Wood (Viscount Halifax), then President of the Board of Control, and was ratified, after the mutiny, by the despatch of Lord Stanley (Earl of Derby) in 1859, is still the great Charter of Education for India. It is reprinted by the "General Council on Education in India," for the purpose of showing how admirably it is fitted to meet the great want of that country—a healthful and liberal education. Their only regret is, that its rules have been so little applied to the general education of the poor, for which it was specially designed; and that its principles have been, and still are, so largely departed from in regard to the higher education. And their great aim is, to press upon Government, both at home and in India, the importance of seeing to the faithful and adequate carrying out of its provisions. They will be glad to be joined by any friends of India, who approve of the despatch, and are desirous of assisting in their object. Names may be sent to the Secretary, the Rev. James Johnston, 7, Adam Street, Strand.

I claim to be a "friend of India;" I "approve of

the despatch ;” and I desire to “press upon Government, both at home and in India, the importance of seeing to the faithful and adequate carrying out of its provisions.” So that, according to the test here imposed by the Secretary, I am eligible for admission to the “General Council on Education in India.” May not the elasticity of the test have found room for some in the Council who are not altogether of Mr. Johnston’s way of thinking in regard to high education ?

I have quoted this *Note*, because it shows that the “General Council on Education” are not unaware that the despatch of 1854 was not only “ratified,” but also to some extent interpreted, by the despatch of 1859. All the pamphlets of the abolitionists quote Mr. Howell’s interpretation, the ambiguity of which I have endeavoured to show at page 5. But I do not find them quoting the authoritative interpretation given by the despatch of 1859. Will it be believed that the latter despatch, in summarising the intentions of the earlier one, actually states one of its objects to be, “the maintenance of the existing Government Colleges and Schools of a high order, and *the increase of their number when necessary*” ?

I have not been able to discover that the “General Council on Education in India” has reprinted the despatch of 1859.

CHAPTER IV.

THE AGITATION AGAINST THE STATE COLLEGES.

THE agitation against the State Colleges has been based, in the first place, on the two assumptions (1) that the great educational despatches of 1854 and 1859 had ordered an abandonment of the direct connection of the State with the work of high education ; and (2) that the Education Departments have not only disobeyed this order, but have mainly devoted their attention to the very form of education that was intended to be ostracised. I trust I have shown, in the last two chapters, that the first of these assumptions is proved to be baseless by an examination of the despatches themselves. With regard to the second, a comparison of the educational statistics of the present day with those of the period of the despatch, will show that the Education Departments have struggled—so far as they have been permitted to do so by superior authority, and with the miserably inade-

quate funds put at their disposal—to maintain an equal pace of advance on all the various lines of educational activity. If they have seemed, to impatient reformers who are anxious to find new spheres for their reforming energy, slow in the task of forcing primary education on the masses, it has mainly been (as I shall endeavour to prove hereafter) because : (1) financial considerations, imposed from above, have absolutely forbidden a more rapid advance ; because (2) mere extension of such forms of instructions, recklessly undertaken in ignorance or disregard of actual needs—such as is asked for by not a few of the pseudo-reformers—is mischievous where it is not nugatory ; and (3) the vast extent of the field tends to obscure and render disappointing, in the minds of those who are not familiar with the subject, progress quite as real as that which is more evident to the superficial observers in the smaller field of high education. In the case of a country like India, that is just awakening to the full sense of its multitudinous political, social, and material wants, the first and most conspicuous need is clearly that of a class of leaders and pioneers, such as can only be created by a good system of liberal education ; and the immense results that are achieved by a few such men, naturally attract the attention of superficial observers to the success of that part of the education system that has produced them. But I must confess I do not understand how any unprejudiced and thoughtful

person—looking at the enormous endowments (often derived originally from State sources) of Oxford and Cambridge and our public schools—looking at the liberal grants annually made by Parliament to the Irish Colleges—looking, too, at the circumstances under which ancient endowments have been necessarily forgotten, or resumed, in India, and at the fact that Indian public opinion has always demanded Government encouragement of learning, so agreeable to Indian habit and custom—can regard an annual grant of £92,000 to the colleges as either exorbitant in itself, or as an unfair share of the £900,000 doled out by Government for the entire educational needs of the country. Nor can I understand how such a person—looking at the vast areas and teeming populations in question, at the inadequacy of the funds allotted by Government, and at the comparatively modern origin of all educational effort in India—can regard results such as those recently shown, let us say, in the primary instruction of Bengal (more than 618,000 boys at primary schools) as other than satisfactory, and exceedingly creditable to the ability and industry of the Department that has produced it.

An examination of the recent publications of those who are conducting the agitation against the State Colleges, shows that they by no means confine themselves to the points I have noticed above. The most able and the most prominent writers on

the side of attack—who have taken the place that was occupied by Mr. A. P. Howell with such distinguished ability in the earlier phases of the agitation—have been the Rev. J. Johnston, as the representative of the “General Council on Education in India” (an Association numbering among its members some of the most venerated names among our missionaries and philanthropists); and Dr. John Murdoch, the “Indian Agent of the Christian Vernacular Education Society for India.”* Dr. Murdoch quotes Mr. Hunter, C.I.E., the President of the Commission subsequently appointed by Lord Ripon, at almost every page, whilst Mr. Johnston relies chiefly on Mr. A. P. Howell and Mr. Miller, also members of the Commission: whence it seems very likely that these recent publications have had great influence in determining the constitution and

* I trust that nothing written by me in this little work, may be taken to indicate anything but the utmost respect for the motives of the esteemed gentlemen here named. Whilst I venture to differ most strongly from the conclusions arrived at by Mr. A. P. Howell, it is impossible not to admire the ability with which he defends his position, and his obvious sincerity. I will frankly confess that the very mistaken estimate taken by Dr. Murdoch and Mr. Johnston (I am sure in ignorance of the facts) of the general character of State College students—of whom several generations in three of the largest Colleges in India have been my own pupils, and in a very large number of cases my esteemed and valued friends—has been read by me with very deep regret; but I am confident that Dr. Murdoch and Mr. Johnston themselves would be the first to feel sorrow for the mistakes made, if only the mistakes be proved to their satisfaction.

scope of the Commission. Now, Dr. Murdoch devotes twenty-seven pages at the beginning of his *Education in India* to a discussion of the *alleged evil effects of English education*; and most of the rest of the book is taken up with praises of Mr. Hunter, and denunciations of the educated natives, of the Educational Departments, and of the school books for which those departments are erroneously supposed to be responsible. Among the alleged "evil effects of English education," Dr. Murdoch makes a large number of quotations to show that these include (1) self-conceit and rudeness, (2) disloyalty, (3) scepticism, (4) immorality. Many of these quotations are well known to me, having frequently done duty on former occasions; and I have not known one that has not been indignantly repudiated, both by Indians and by their friends among the English of India. Some, too, are obviously vague, unauthenticated, and improbable; for instance,—

"A gentleman, who lived for many years near one of the principal up-country Government Colleges, says of the young men educated at it: 'They despise and hate their "*English conquerors, foreign rulers, proud tyrants*," for such are the terms they use. 'Could Greece,' they say, 'resist a Xerxes? What could India not do?' They demonstrate clearly that the Indians could in one night destroy all the English throughout the length and breadth of the country. An educated Hindustani, who had visited America, said to the writer, 'We are so many and you are so few, that if each of us took a pinch of dust we could smother you.'"

"Mr. M. Gubbins shows this to be the natural effect of the Government system of education."

And again :—

"An 'ex-student' mentions a teacher who used to swear 'By my God, if there is any.' It is said of two Government Professors, now dead, that they 'diffused the principles of Tom Paine over a whole generation of youth.' The effects produced by the letters of a living Principal of a Government College have been partly shown. It is well known to the students that *some* of the Government Professors are sceptical, and there is therefore a tendency to become their 'disciples and admirers.' A Bombay Missionary, out itinerating, reports the following visit :—

"'A Government school-teacher and a company of young men from the English school. They also denied the existence of God, of sin, and of righteousness. Sad as it is to see so many of the educated men running off on this track, it is not surprising.'"

In most of his other references to Indian character, whether as injured by "the evil effects of English education," or otherwise, Dr. Murdoch seems to me to be exceedingly, though surely unintentionally, unjust :—

"As the effect of Government Education depends largely upon its religious teaching, at the risk of repetition, a summary may be given of what is suggested.

"*Atheism* is undoubtedly spreading among Hindus. As already mentioned, the President of the Theosophical Society puts in the mouth of the Buddhists that 'a personal God is only a gigantic shadow thrown upon the void of space by the imagination of ignorant men.'

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“‘Very choice American,’ like that of Koot Humi, is found in a catechism prepared by the President of the Theosophical Society for the Buddhists of Ceylon.”

Here follows the quotation, given in the former extract, about the “gigantic shadow;” but surely, the opinions of an American visitor to India, who happens to be president of a Theosophical Society, are very irrelevant in such a discussion as that in which Dr. Murdoch is engaged? And the following sentiments seem to me not to savour of charity:—

“Cunning is everywhere the refuge of the weak against the strong. Undoubtedly the oppression to which the Hindus were subjected for many centuries, had an injurious effect upon the national character.

“PURITY.—Under this head one crying evil in India ought to be condemned. The use of language inexpressibly vile is almost universal.

“BENEVOLENCE.—This is fairly developed in the Hindu character, but it lacks breadth and is often wrongly directed. Max Müller says, ‘The Indian never knew the feeling of nationality.’ The Hindus love their children, they are zealous for their caste; but, except in the case of the enlightened few, their sympathies do not extend beyond these narrow limits.

“Whatever may be the case with regard to other forms of vice, intemperance has undoubtedly increased. Although its ravages have not been confined to the educated classes, these have been the severest sufferers. The evil is worst in Calcutta, where the educated classes are the wealthiest, and English has been longest studied.”

When strictures of this kind are read with what

precedes and what follows, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Dr. Murdoch holds the higher education, and especially the education given in Government Colleges, responsible for all manner of things with which it cannot possibly have the remotest connection. In the following, he seems very hard on Oxford and Cambridge for having produced the Professors of the State Colleges:—

“For about half a century literature and mathematics constituted nearly the sum total of the teaching in Government Colleges. This was but natural. The stream cannot be expected to rise higher than its source. Most of the Professors were Oxford or Cambridge graduates, and sought to impart to the youth of India such an education as they had themselves received. Some modifications were necessary. English literature was substituted for that of Greece and Rome.”

And again :—

“According to the present system, Mr. Bradlaugh might be Principal of a Government College in India, a Professor of Moral Philosophy, or a Director of Public Instruction. For such a man to teach the duty of ‘responsibility to a living Creator’ would be mockery. Either Atheists should not be appointed, or in such cases the teaching which is considered so necessary must be abandoned.”

The Rev. Mr. Johnston, in his pamphlet on *Our Educational Policy in India*, gives the honours of capitals to the very unjust sentiment expressed in the first sentence of the following statement:—

“THE PRESENT SYSTEM IS RAISING UP A NUMBER OF DISCONTENTED AND DISLOYAL SUBJECTS.

“This is not so much felt in districts in which education is

of recent origin and limited in extent to the wants of the locality. But in the old educational seats, especially in Bengal, this result of the Government system of direct education is painfully and alarmingly felt."

Elsewhere he qualifies this statement, but in terms that are hardly less unjust:—

"When I call attention to the fact that education in Government colleges leads to irreligion, discontent, and disloyalty, let it be distinctly understood that I neither lay the entire blame on Government colleges for the effects produced, nor do I exempt other colleges from producing, in many cases, like results."

For his charge of disloyalty against the educated gentlemen of India, Mr. Johnston quotes the authority of Mr. Howell; this is what he says:—

"The cloud in the horizon may seem no bigger than 'a man's hand;' but many thoughtful men fear that it is from this quarter that the next political storm will burst over India. The following warning has been given by A. P. Howell, Esq., Under Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, who for several years had charge of education. The following is from his Report for 1870:—

"Looking to the rapid growth of our educational system, and to the enormous influence for good or evil, that a single able and well educated man may exercise in this country; and looking to the dense but inflammable ignorance of the millions around us, it seems a tremendous experiment for the State to undertake, and in some Provinces almost monopolize, the direct training of whole generations above their own creed, and above that sense of relation to another world upon which they base all their moral obligations; and the possible evil is obviously growing with the system. It is true that things go smoothly and quietly, but this is attained

by ignoring not only the inevitable results of early training on the character and the great needs of human nature, especially in the East, but by also ignoring the responsibility which devolves on the Government that assumes the entire control of direct education at all. If, therefore, while fanaticism is raging around, there is a calm in our schools and colleges, it is an ominous and unnatural calm, of impossible continuance, the calm of the centre of the cyclone.’”

I have shown, in the last chapter, that this is entirely in opposition to the opinion of the framers of the despatch of 1854 and their advisers. It is opposed to the testimony of Sir Richard Temple, and almost every other recent authority. With all respect for the views of Mr. Howell, I will venture to say that I have known a far larger number of our graduates and under-graduates than he can possibly have known, and have been on terms of personal friendship with very many—and my own experience is diametrically opposed to everything I have quoted above. And with regard to the moral teaching that is conveyed in Government Colleges, I will venture to quote some remarks that appeared in the *Hindoo Patriot*, of March 24, 1873, on a letter addressed by me, in that year, to the *Friend of India* on the subject:—

“Professor Lethbridge has addressed an excellent letter to the *Friend of India* on the subject of ‘moral teaching in Government Colleges.’ He writes:—

“‘That the education imparted by our College lectures is a godless one, or devoid of moral teaching, I distinctly and emphatically deny. It is true that we do not inculcate the doctrines of Christianity; even if the orders of Government

did not forbid it, I very much doubt whether our duty as Christians and as men of honour would not preclude our doing so, paid as we are from the taxation of Hindoos and Mussulmans. But I unhesitatingly assert that the spirit of religion and morality—that spirit which, not unknown under other systems and other faiths, has attained its highest purity and refinement in the teaching of Christ—is not absent from our lectures; indeed I am at a loss to know how such a subject as History can be adequately and efficiently taught by a really conscientious and earnest lecturer without some infusion of that spirit.’

“The *Friend* cannot gainsay this fact, but takes refuge under the flimsy excuse that the Government system of education ‘professedly and systematically ignores the religious emotions.’ But, how can the Government introduce dogmatic religion—for the essence of all religions, fear of God and love of man, is as much inculcated in the Government schools as in any professedly religious schools—without breaking its faith with the people for religious neutrality. The *Friend* wishes to throw the whole work of national education into the hands of the Missionaries, but he may rest assured that our Government is too conscientious to do anything of the kind.”

And the *Bengalee*, in the course of a long article on the subject, on March 29, 1873, said :—

“We are glad that Professor Lethbridge writes to the *Friend of India* denying emphatically the assertion that education in our colleges is a godless one.”

About the same time I spoke on the subject at the annual meeting of the Indian Reform Association; and the *Indian Mirror* devoted an article to the arguments adduced by me, which began thus :—

“SYMPATHY, A SECRET OF SUCCESS :—Mr. Lethbridge’s able defence of the Professors of Government Colleges, delivered

at the last anniversary of the Indian Reform Association, deserves close study and attention. If we have understood aright the gist of his arguments, he has hit the right nail on the head, and the direction in which he pointed out the reform should lie was, indeed, the only one, to our thinking, where reform is possible. He said :—

“ ‘I believe, nay I am sure, that the moral teaching of which I speak, is to be imparted, not so much by systematic instruction, not so much by set lectures and disquisitions, as by personal influence and by the general tone of a professor's lectures. If this discussion, which has been carried on of late, tend to increase and extend that influence; if it tend to urge our professors to greater earnestness in the inculcation of the pursuit of that gentle life of which I have spoken, and our students to a livelier appreciation of its beauties; then the reform of which we have heard so much may be made a real one. And, I believe, in this and in no other way, can any such reform be effected.’ ”

“ While generally disagreeing with Mr. Lethbridge as to the value of a systematic course of moral training, we are at one with him on the point that such moral training is valuable only when supplemented by ‘the personal influence and by the general tone of a professor's lectures.’ ”

In some of the chapters that follow, I shall briefly recur to the charges advanced by Dr. Murdoch and Mr. Johnston against the educated community of India. In this place I content myself with declaring that my own experience leads me entirely to the view so authoritatively expressed by Sir Richard Temple in “Men and Events of my time in India.” Sir Richard says, at page 9 :—

“ An extensive class of highly-educated natives has arisen. *The high or superior education is found to produce happy results in respect of trustworthiness of disposition and moral integrity.*

The sect of Hindu religious reformers has increased manifold, and been powerfully stimulated by the progress of education."

And at page 6 :—

"The native judges are now generally well-educated, upright, and honest."

The concluding sentence of Mr. Johnston's "Abolition or Transference of Government Colleges and High Schools in India," shows clearly what the reverend author really means when he denounces the State Colleges as "Godless," and demands that the principles of religion should be taught in all Indian colleges. He says :—

"I may be asked, would you wish the heathen to teach their own dark systems in the halls of modern learning? Most assuredly not. They are too conscious of the incompatibility of Hinduism with the teachings of modern science to make the attempt. But those most competent to judge of the working of the native mind are of opinion, that there is such a felt want of a religious basis for morality in the education of their children that, if left to themselves, they would introduce at once the teachings of natural religion, and that in a little while they would admit the Bible as their moral standard; some, even now, advocate its introduction, and many prefer to send their children to the Christian, in preference to the secular school or college. They fear Christianity less than they dread Atheism."

If the subject were less grave, the *naiveté* of this would be positively amusing; it is so clearly the old story—orthodoxy is to be taught, and that is my doxy, not yours. I should very much like to

hear a discussion between the Rev. Mr. Johnston and a good many Hindu gentlemen I could name, on his thesis, "They are too conscious of the incompatibility of Hinduism with the teachings of modern science to make the attempt!"

I shall deal elsewhere with the charge against the State Colleges, so frequently brought forward in the pamphlets I have been reviewing, of pauperizing the people. With regard to the charge of competing with the "private enterprise" of Missionary Societies and others, Mr. Johnston says:—

"The prestige and influence of a school or college, under the direct management of the Government, makes competition by private enterprise almost impossible on the part of natives, and extremely difficult for any society, especially in a country like India, under a system of paternal despotism.

"The high pay of professors and teachers in Government colleges and schools intensifies the difficulty of maintaining private institutions.

"So long as Government maintains its own colleges in competition with private ones, it is next to an impossibility for Directors of Public Instruction, as Government servants, to overcome a feeling of partiality for institutions with which they naturally feel themselves identified, more especially when, as is now the growing custom, Government Professors are elevated to this responsible position. They would be more than human if they did not favour institutions from which they had risen, and old associates with whom they had wrought, rather than institutions and men whom they had formerly regarded as rivals, if not as antagonists. We charge none with conscious partiality; but facts prove that, in such a case, impartiality is in most cases impracticable."

I can most unhesitatingly declare that no such

antagonism, or even rivalry, as that which Mr. Johnston here describes, has existed in Bengal to my knowledge, during the last fourteen years. In many fields of labour and usefulness there has been a great deal of friendly co-operation, and a sentiment of *camaraderie* between the Professors of the State Colleges and those of the aided colleges. If I may be permitted to give a personal instance, I would say that, during the seven years that I edited the *Calcutta Review*, many of my most helpful and trusted *collaborateurs* were professors in aided colleges; and in return I have been a contributor to the *Indian Student*, and to other periodicals conducted by professors of aided colleges. And I am quite sure that what I have now said will be confirmed by all who know anything of the working of the Asiatic Society, and, indeed, of every undertaking in Bengal where literary or scientific co-operation is possible. Of personal friendships between the two classes who are declared by Mr. Johnston to be "rivals, if not antagonists," I do not presume to speak here: but I see in the list of Mr. Johnston's own committee the names of several gentlemen who could speak on this point.

I agree with what Mr. Johnston says of the prestige that attaches to Government Colleges; and I shall endeavour to shew in chapter VII., that the loss of that prestige would be disastrous to the cause of high education in India. But it seems to me absurd to speak of the State Colleges

competing with private colleges, when the fees payable in the former are always much higher, in most cases enormously higher, than in the latter. For instance, in Calcutta, the tuition fees in the Presidency State College amount to Rs. 144 per annum—which Sir George Campbell calculated to be equivalent to a tuition fee of £100 per annum in England; whereas the fees in the aided colleges are, I believe, never more than Rs. 60 per annum, or less than half. Mr. Johnston himself shows that at Madras—where there is also a large difference between the rates of fees, though not so large as at Calcutta—the Christian College attracts larger numbers than the Presidency College. Mr. Johnston complains that the more promising students, those who ultimately gain the highest University distinctions, usually prefer the high fees of the Presidency College. Does not this surely show that there is scope, and need, for both sets of colleges? At Calcutta, the General Assembly's College is much larger than the Presidency College—and certainly does not seem to suffer from any unfair competition.* The

* I would here quote the valuable testimony of the Rev. Mr. Hastie, the Principal of this, the most successful Missionary College in India. When delivering his annual speech on the progress of the College the other day, Mr. Hastie said :—

“The highest number enrolled in the institution during the year was 1313, including 544 students in the College Department, and 769 pupils in the school. The average attendance has been 1,161, being 481 in the college and 680

Metropolitan College of Calcutta, admirably conducted (in part, at least) by some old pupils of my own, is most successful both in numbers and in University distinction ; it certainly does not suffer

in the school. In the official report for 1880-81, the director of Public Instruction in Bengal referring to ' the increase of 446 in the number of college pupils ' in all the colleges, says, ' the most noteworthy increase is that of the General Assembly's Institution, which had on March 31 last the unprecedented Roll number of 501 pupils, being more by 140 than the year before, and far exceeding the strength of any College, Government or private, in any previous year. In consequence of the large attendance, the local finances have again been prospering. After paying out of the local income salaries of all the native agents and other expenses, a considerable surplus has been available for diminishing the large debt due on account of the recent additions to the College buildings. The grant to the College Department from the Government of Bengal has been increased from Rs. 350 to Rs. 600 a month. We accept this timely increase with all gratitude, not only as a gratifying proof of the confidence of his Honour the Lieutenant Governor and the Director of Public Instruction in our work, but, in view of the kindly encouragement which our application received, and our subsequent progress, with ' a very lively sense of favours to come.' (Laughter.) On account of our increased numbers, the cost of each student to Government for the year has again been so exceptionally low as Rs. 45. There is no dispute as to the wisdom and justice of the grant-in-aid system, and we would again bear testimony to the courtesy, the fairness, and the appreciation which we have always received from the Government of Bengal, and we are desirous that nothing should happen on our side to impair this agreeable relation. It must again be understood that the whole salaries of the European staff have been paid by the Church of Scotland. The sum thus expended by the mission upon the institution has amounted to Rs. 24,000, and it is mainly owing to this generous support by the Church that the cost of our students to Government is so small."

from the competition of Presidency College—and I would almost venture to assert that, but for Presidency College, its present honourable and prosperous condition could not have been. And there are many other successful aided colleges in Bengal ; and for all there is ample scope, and work as honourable as it is useful. I am sure that the good understanding between the State Colleges and the aided colleges in Bengal is too firmly established to be easily disturbed ; otherwise, I should regard the risk of such disturbance as not the least mischievous of the possible evils of the agitation which we now have to deplore.

NOTE ON DR. MURDOCH'S " EDUCATION IN INDIA."

Much of Dr. Murdoch's *Education in India* is devoted to criticism, which (perhaps not unnaturally) seems to me to be often captious and ill-natured, of the text-books commonly used in our Indian schools. As many of these books have been prepared and published at the private expense and risk of individual educational officers, Dr. Murdoch seems to think that the Educational Departments are responsible for them ; and much of the glorification of Dr. Hunter, which forms, perhaps, the kindest feature in this pamphlet, is apparently due to the expectation that Dr. Hunter's deservedly high literary reputation, and his great influence with the Government of India, mark him out as the man whose educational works (when

they are written) should supersede by Government orders, and render unsaleable, all the productions of educational officers. But Dr. Murdoch is mistaken if he supposes that text-books are forcibly imposed on schools, either by the Government of India or (as a general rule) by the Department of Public Instruction. The Simla Text-books Committee strongly recommended—and I venture to think with evident justice and wisdom—that the choice of text-books should be left as much as possible to the schoolmasters, and that we should trust to the competition of authors and publishers to supply every want as it arises (except, perhaps, in regard to some vernacular works, which may need further encouragement). The Government heartily approved of this recommendation: and it would obviously be an act of very great injustice if the educational works of any officer of Government like Mr. Hunter, whether attached to the Education Department or not, were to be given by official orders any preference further than that which they can win for themselves in the open market by their own merit. And yet Dr. Murdoch says :—

“How to make education in India as effectual as possible in promoting the material, intellectual, social, moral and religious elevation of the people is a problem of the greatest difficulty.

“In any one attempting to solve it, several qualifications are necessary :—

1. He should have a thorough knowledge of the country.

2. He should have sympathy with its inhabitants.
3. He should be able to use his pen.
4. He should be abreast of the times.
5. He should have sound judgment.
6. He should not be a sceptic.

“There is no man probably who combines so many of these qualifications as Dr. Hunter. He says in his lectures: ‘I had the good fortune, in my youth, to work during two years in the laboratory of the greatest agricultural chemist of that day.’ From his recent compilation of the *Gazetteer of India*, he has had unrivalled opportunities for becoming acquainted with the country; his lectures on *England’s Work in India* show how correctly he estimates the wants of the people; the highest literary journals have borne testimony to his graphic and felicitous pen. He should be Chief Editor, securing the best assistance in each department.”

And, again :—

“Even before an officer like Dr. Hunter should attempt the work, six months should be spent in visiting every Province of India, and personally inspecting representative schools of each class, village and city. He should see good, medium, and inferior specimens. The average number of pupils in each, with their ages, the occupations of their parents, and the time they usually remain in school, should be ascertained. The studies of each class, with the time devoted to each subject, should be noted. Specimens should be obtained of all the text-books; school buildings and school furniture should be inspected.”

It will be noticed that this suggestion of Dr. Murdoch’s has been adopted by the Government of India, so far as regards Dr. Hunter’s “six months’ tour.” Dr. Murdoch goes on to say :—

“A man like Dr. Hunter, after three years’ study with

every possible advantage, could produce a Series of School-Books far better adapted to raise India in every respect than a Native who has never left the country. It may be said that Dr. Hunter has not been connected with the Educational Department in India. One of the worst possible selections that could be made *might* be a Professor of English Literature from one of the Government Colleges. Some such men have neither knowledge of the people nor sympathy with them. Their influence has already sometimes been disastrously felt when appointed Directors of Public Instruction. Literature has been fostered in Colleges, while the masses have been neglected."

Now, *apropos* of these remarks by Dr. Murdoch, I will ask my readers' forbearance while I say a few words personal to myself. As Secretary of the Bengal Text-books Committee of 1873, when the recommendations of 300 schoolmasters of Bengal and Upper India, in regard to the best text-books, were tabulated and fully considered,—and, again, as Joint-Secretary of the Simla Text-books Committee of 1877—I have had more opportunities than most for the careful study of the subject. I have endeavoured honestly to utilize the knowledge of Indian scholastic opinion thus acquired, for the benefit of Indian schools and Indian students. I have prepared a few books myself, where they seemed to me to be wanted; I have edited more—some by Indian scholars like the late Professor Peary Churn Sircar, others by standard English authors, such as Mr. Todhunter, the late Mr. Barnard Smith, Professor Roscoe, and

others. Some of these publications (notably the series of Bengali translations mentioned at page 49) have cost me a good deal of money and have returned nothing. To the best of my belief, not one of my books has been officially ordered to be used, either by Government or by an Educational Department; and yet some have attained a large circulation, and been translated into many vernaculars. Can Dr. Murdoch adduce any valid reasons why these efforts of "private enterprise" should be thrust aside to make way for official patronage? It seems to me it would be unjust to the authors, who have devoted time and labour to a somewhat thankless task—to the eminent publishers, such as Messrs. Macmillan & Co., of London, Oxford, and Cambridge, and Messrs. Thacker, Spink & Co., of Calcutta, who have laid out money in reliance on the intimation of the Government of India that competition should be perfectly free and unfettered—and most unjust of all to the schools and pupils, whose interests must surely be served better by open competition than by officially-favoured text-books. Dr. Murdoch says, possibly with truth, that "one of the worst possible selections that could be made *might* be a Professor of English Literature from one of the Government Colleges." But why make any such invidious selection at all?—and why so fiercely taboo all the Government Professors of English Literature, more than any other class? With re-

gard to our "knowledge of the people" and "sympathy with them," of which Dr. Murdoch speaks so contemptuously—surely he will allow that *some* of us possess these qualifications? The Reading Books, that bear my name, with that of the late Professor Peary Churn Sircar, were mainly prepared by my colleague—whom even Dr. Murdoch calls "a highly respected and beloved member of the Hindu community." My work on the Series was chiefly confined to the revision of the English, and of the general method; and Dr. Murdoch makes use of a speciality of this series, its frequent moral lessons, to prove that such teaching is not offensive to Hindus. And yet, because my colleague and myself had the misfortune to be "Professors of English Literature from one of the Government Colleges," our work is to be suppressed (according to Dr. Murdoch), in favour of one to be hereafter compiled by Dr. Hunter, partly on the strength of the latter gentleman having worked during two years in his youth in the laboratory of the greatest agricultural chemist of that day! I hope I shall not be thought egotistic if I say that all I ask for any of my school books, is that Indian schoolmasters (like English schoolmasters) should be allowed to choose the books they like best for their own schools. My little *History of India* has been translated into nearly every one of the chief Indian vernaculars, has been warmly spoken of by every one of the


chief native papers, and has, I believe, been adopted in nearly every school where free selection is allowed; but Dr. Murdoch prefers a work he has not yet seen, and of which he knows nothing, for he says:—

“The history of India, properly written, would tend to promote good feeling between the two races, and inspire loyalty towards our Government. The recent work by Dr. Hunter, which has not yet reached this country, will probably supply this desideratum.”

CHAPTER V.

INDIAN PUBLIC OPINION : A HIGHLY EDUCATED CLASS,
INDIA'S FIRST NEED.

BEFORE the Government can venture to adopt such a suggestion as that of the "abolition or transference of the Government Colleges and High Schools," it seems to me that Indian public opinion on the subject ought to be allowed its full weight. The questions I would propose for consideration are—How would a change in the direction suggested be regarded by those most nearly concerned, the people of the country?—and how far is native public opinion justified in the view it adopts? There can be no manner of doubt as to the answer that must be returned to the former of these questions. In India the Government that is friendly to high education is at once idolized by the people ; the belief that Sir George Campbell was inimical to high education made that Lieutenant-Governor the most unpopular ruler that ever occupied Belve-



dere. This fact is unquestioned, even by those who advocate withdrawal; and it is generally explained by reference to the fact that the classes who make themselves heard, both in the press and in the counsels of Government, are exactly the classes that benefit most by State-aided colleges. I have no hesitation in saying that this explanation is a gross injustice to the many liberal-minded native gentlemen who deprecate the transfer of the State's task to private enterprise. In Calcutta, in Bombay, in Madras, in every great centre of enlightenment in India, I could name many native gentlemen of standing and repute who are far above the suspicion of such selfish motives for their advocacy. And even if this were not so, it must not be forgotten that the cause of withdrawal has always been known to have the strong sympathy of some of the most powerful among the ruling body; and, if selfish motives were the only ones that actuated the native side in the controversy, we should surely find many who would prefer their own personal interests to the interests of their class, and would sooner have the favour of a powerful Secretary than a good education for their young kinsfolk.

And what are the chief points on which native gentlemen insist when they demand the continued maintenance of State colleges? I will simply state a few. They say emphatically, India's first want is a class of highly-educated men, who shall act

as pioneers to guide their ignorant countrymen into the promised land of civilization. If every ryot in India knew a little of the three R's, the knowledge would be of inestimable benefit—and the attainment of that result, distant though it must be, is a noble aim for the Government of India to set constantly before their eyes; but its attainment, even if it were immediately possible, would be as nothing in its bearing on the future development and civilization of the country, compared with the creation of a class of instructors and leaders, of inventors and intelligent capitalists, of jurists and legislators, of scholars and *savants*, of statesmen and philanthropists. These are the men who are to bring India into her proper place in the comity of nations; nor will any amount of reading, writing, and arithmetic among the masses—ininitely valuable as these privileges are—atone to India for the lack of such a class. Secondly, the aid now given to the higher education by the State is not out of proportion to the revenues of the country; it is not for a moment comparable in amount to the vast endowments (in many cases originally derived from public sources) of our English universities; and, after all, it leaves the cost of an Indian university degree much higher (taking into consideration the difference in the standards of living) than that of an English university degree. Thirdly, the comparative poverty of the learned classes in India renders it impossible

at present for the higher education to do without those aids which are not denied to the far wealthier community of England. Endowments, like those of the Kishnaghur College and the old Muhammad Mohsin College at Hooghly, will in course of time be founded. Independent colleges, like that excellent institution the Metropolitan College of Calcutta, will gradually spring up, manned by graduates trained in the State colleges; and in this way the task of the State can be gradually lightened. But it should never be entirely given up. And lastly, the withdrawal of the Government from the State colleges will immediately increase to a degree utterly intolerable to native feeling, the importance and the power of the Missionary Colleges. The latter Colleges—entirely apart from their religious teaching—at present do a most useful work in supplementing the Government efforts, and in providing (by the aid of their subscriptions from the charitable classes in England) a somewhat cheaper university education than that otherwise obtainable. But, while I can entirely sympathize with that work as at present carried on, it will be readily allowed that Hindu and Muhammadan susceptibilities would be justly outraged by any arrangement that would tend to throw the whole higher education of the country into the hands of Christian missionaries; and, moreover, it is more than doubtful whether the Societies themselves would consent to

such a remarkable diversion, from their supposed objects, of the funds of which they are the almoners.

I might name other points, on which native public opinion in India would found its strong objection to any withdrawal of the State from the work of higher education. But I believe I have said enough to convince any impartial person that there is much to justify the view so universally taken in the Indian community.

CHAPTER VI.

POPULAR ERRORS ABOUT THE COST OF HIGH
EDUCATION IN INDIA.

THE cry for the “abolition or transference” of the State Colleges in India is largely based on a misapprehension of the nature of the aid that is given by the State to the cause of high education. When the Deputation of the “General Council on Education in India” waited on Lord Ripon, in 1880, the Rev. W. Gray, Secretary to the Church Missionary Society, said,—

“He desired to draw attention to a principle which was much dwelt on in the Despatch of 1854, that of fostering a spirit of self-reliance and self-help in respect of education amongst the Natives of India. This spirit had certainly not been fostered hitherto amongst the upper classes. Nearly everything was done for them in respect of higher education, and they were required to exercise but little thought or effort in supplying it for themselves. Even when the higher education was brought to their doors by Government, they were required to pay but little for it.”

On the same occasion the Bishop of Rangoon said that,—

"The higher and richer classes, who could afford to pay for themselves, received lavish sums, the cost per head in direct State education being greatly in excess of the cost per head in grant-aided schools."

Mr. Johnston, in his pamphlets, habitually speaks even more strongly. In one place he says,—

"But while these have been the plans of the Home Government, what has been the practice in India? Instead of withdrawing the Government colleges, they have doubled the number, and multiplied the cost. Instead of encouraging local effort, they have made the maintenance of colleges by missionary societies almost impossible, and what is, if possible, more to be deplored, they have *pauperised the richer classes* of the natives by leading them to depend on Government doing almost everything for them."

And again he says,—

"For these five-and-twenty years I have watched the operation of that Education Despatch in silence, and have seen it year by year more and more perverted from its original design. The higher education has been fostered and pampered, and the lower education to a like extent comparatively neglected. Direct education in Government colleges, instead of being withdrawn, has been largely extended, and aided colleges discouraged and reduced. And of late years I have seen what was formerly cold indifference, on the part of influential Government servants, turned into positive aversion to our best Christian colleges, which are now, in some cases, threatened with extinction."

I cannot help parenthetically observing, in regard to this outburst, that Mr. Johnston himself tries to show elsewhere that many of the Christian


colleges (notably the Christian College at Madras) are even more successful than the Government colleges; but this is when he wishes to show that the Government colleges can be done without! Is the General Assembly's College at Calcutta "threatened with extinction?" Does the increase in boys at school in Bengal, from 136,000 in 1871 to 852,000 in 1881, show that the lower education has been neglected? But let that pass.

But, alas, this misapprehension in regard to the cost of high education is not confined to the "General Council on Education in India." It is widely current, even in India itself, and among those who are in general well informed on subjects of public interest. For instance, at least three or four of the leading Anglo-Indian journals, in commenting on the announcement of an impending Educational Commission to examine the working of the educational despatch of 1854, and the proposal (believed, not without reason, to be implied by the appointment of such a Commission) that Government should withdraw from the maintenance of the State Colleges, speak of the high education of the country as "eleemosynary." This is a simple fallacy. The Presidency Colleges of Calcutta and Madras, and the Elphinstone College of Bombay, and the other State colleges of India, are eleemosynary only in the sense in which the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge may be called so too. It may be doubted whether there has ever been, in

education the total cost of which they are well able and should be forced to pay. The fact is, in every enlightened age and in every civilized country it has been felt to be a point of the highest national importance to encourage the creation of a class of highly educated men; and since the cost of the highest kind of education, if it all had to come out of the pockets of the students, would be absolutely prohibitory except to a very few (namely, the very rich, in whom would often be found lacking the stimulus for the laborious life of a scholar), a considerable share of the cost of maintaining the machinery of high education has everywhere been borne, either directly or indirectly, by the State. And in India this obligation is more binding on the State than elsewhere, for the following reasons: First, the learned class is not on the whole a wealthy one. Secondly, the traditionary customs of the country point to the maintenance of learning by the respectful free-will offerings (differing somewhat from charity) of the rich. Thirdly, the system of Government and general administration of the country, being conducted on English principles, must for a long time be beyond the comprehension, and outside the pale of the sympathies, of all but the highly-educated class of Indians; hence there is the greater need of such a class to interpret between governors and governed, and policy enjoins the use of public revenues to create such a class. And, lastly, there is the urgent

demand—for the many reasons I have already stated—for what we may broadly term “pioneers of civilization” in a country whose resources await development in every direction. And yet, what are the facts? On the eighty-two State and aided colleges of British India, we lavish a State endowment of £186,000!—about as much as would suffice at Oxford for the endowment of some three or four colleges on the scale of Magdalen or New.

Again, we may look at the question from the other side, that of the amount paid by the student. I print, as Appendix A, some official correspondence that puts in the clearest light possible the tremendous weight of the fees in the State colleges of India, and the comparative poverty of the literary class in India. The fees, so far from being on an eleemosynary scale, are far higher (regard being had to the value of money) than those of any other university in the world. The letters in the Appendix were written by Mr. Atkinson, the late Director of Public Instruction, and Mr. Sutcliffe (then Principal of Presidency College) so long ago as 1868; and I have never been able to understand the persistency with which the slander, in regard to the supposed eleemosynary character of the high education, has since then maintained its ground, even in the writings of men of undoubted integrity and honour. I suppose it is the old story, of giving a dog a bad name. Let us compare the amount paid as tuition fees by a student of the



Presidency College, Calcutta, with that paid by a commoner of one of the colleges of Oxford. The former pays £14 8s. per annum, the latter £21 ; but when we recollect that Rs. 12 per mensem in India will provide food and clothing for more than one family, whilst in England £21 a year will not provide the barest subsistence for a single man, it will be seen that the Presidency College fees are really far higher than the fees payable at Christ Church, Oxford. In the missionary colleges of Calcutta the fees are generally Rs. 5 per mensem only—a rate rendered possible by English charitable contributions to mission funds ; but the Presidency College fee, Rs. 12, so far from being small, or in any way deserving of the epithet “eleemosynary,” is relatively far larger than the similar fee in any other university in the world—and, indeed, is only maintained by the excessively keen and highly praiseworthy desire for university education that is so conspicuous in Lower Bengal. This was fully recognized by Sir George Campbell, himself no friend to high education. I have already quoted Sir George’s statement that the fee in Presidency College is equivalent to a tuition fee of £100 per annum in England. That is, that the students of Presidency College, whose education Mr. Johnston calls an eleemosynary one, pay for this tuition five times as much as the commoners of Christ Church.

I claim, then, to have proved one of the chief points on which native gentlemen insist when they

demand the continued maintenance of the State colleges on their present footing ; namely, that the aid now given to the higher education by the State is not out of proportion to the revenues of the country—that it is not for a moment comparable in amount to the vast endowments (in many cases originally derived from public sources) of our English universities—that, after all, it leaves the cost of an Indian university degree much higher (taking into consideration the difference in the standards of living) than that of an English university degree—and that consequently there is absolutely no foundation for the allegation, so lightly made by the other side, that the State college education of India is an eleemosynary one.

CHAPTER VII.

CAN THE GRANT-IN-AID SYSTEM BE APPLIED TO THE
STATE COLLEGES?

THE Resolution of the Government of India appointing the Education Commission of 1882 was well summarised in *The Times*; and the summary endeavoured to show that the field to be covered by the investigations of the Commission is divided into twelve grand sections. But it is clear, from the agitation that has brought about the Commission,* from the constitution of the Commission

* The *Friend of India* of February 13 says, in regard to this point:—

“But while the necessity for an enquiry certainly exists in the condition of education itself, not a little of the urgency is traceable to an agitation which has been carried on for some time in England by the “General Council of Education in India.” It may be beneath the dignity of an official resolution to recognize this as a ground for the appointment of the Commission; but the Society we speak of deserves undoubtedly to have its influence acknowledged. It numbers many respectable and influential names among its members, and it has been most persistent in putting forward its views and in urging them on the highest authorities.”

itself,* and from many other indications—that its real *raison d'être* is the question of the State Colleges. Round this question, as a central nucleus, the other subjects of investigation have

* The *Times'* correspondent, telegraphing on March 5, and evidently speaking on official authority, says:—

“Lord Ripon has armed the Commission against influences naturally opposed to such an effort by giving it strength and numbers, and also a new sort of strength in India—that of a representative element.”

But the *Hindoo Patriot* of Calcutta says that “the Commission is over-weighted with the official element.” “The *Indu Prakas* of Bombay asks, “Would it not have been better if a native member of the Educational Department had been associated?” and suggests that Narayan Bhai Dandhakar ought to have been a member.

The *Indian Mirror* says:—

“The present Viceroy undoubtedly means well to India; but he has not trusted himself to hands which can possibly guide him safely through the intricacies of the education question. Like other Viceroys who have shared in his feelings, Lord Ripon has brought with himself an unreasonable belief in the wisdom of his official surroundings, and an unreasonable degree of doubt in the capacity of the Native races to suggest what is good for themselves through the men who have been recognized as the exponents of their feelings and opinions.” “We find that from this Commission, which has been apparently much of Mr. Mackenzie's selection, such eminent men, who can do honour to any country, as Dr. K. M. Bannerji and Dr. Rajendralala Mitra have been omitted. We have said what we have had to say against the spirit of the Resolution; we shall now proceed to remark upon its terms.”

The following paragraph on the point, that appeared in *Allen's Indian Mail* of March 6, was written by myself:—

“The *Pioneer*, received last week, gave a much more accurate impression, when it declared that the appointments of Messrs. Hunter, Howell, Barbour, Lee-Warner, and Ward show that the educational officers will not ‘have it all their own way’—i.e., in plainer words, that Native public opinion

been diligently wrapped; but they cannot conceal its paramount importance.

I will here quote the sentences of the Resolution which contain the gist of the whole matter; and if they are compared with the language used by Mr. Johnston in his pamphlets, and by the spokesmen of the deputation of the "General Council on Education in India," the inspiration of the Resolution will, I fear, be only too evident, especially in the sentences I have italicised:—

"It was in view of 'the impossibility of Government alone doing all that must be done to provide adequate means for the education of the natives of India,' that the grant-in-aid system was elaborated and developed by the despatch of 1854; and *it is to the wider extension of this system, especially in con-*

(unquestionably represented by the educational officers) is to be suppressed and out-voted by the 'unholy alliance' between the missionaries and the official nominees of the Government. Many of the educational nominees are excellent; for instance, an Indian Educational Commission that did not include the name of the Director of Public Instruction in Bengal would have been an absurdity. But where is Mr. Wordsworth, of Bombay? where is Mr. Kempson? where is the late Madras Director? where are all the names that have been prominent on the side of high education? Our point, in fine, is this:—The Commission includes all the strongest opponents of high education, whilst the representatives of the other side are simply 'good all-round' men. We do not object to the appointment of partisans, for the object of such a Commission is clearly to elicit the utmost that can be said on both sides; but, for the sake of fairness, partisans ought obviously either to be excluded, or to be admitted from both sides."

nection with high and middle education, that the Government looks to set free funds which may then be made applicable to the promotion of the education of the masses. 'The resources of the State ought' as remarked by the Secretary of State in despatch No. 13 of 25th April 1864, 'to be so applied as to assist those who cannot be expected to help themselves, and the richer classes of the people should gradually be induced to provide for their own education.'

“In pursuance of this policy it is the desire of Government to offer every encouragement to native gentlemen to come forward and aid, even more extensively than heretofore, in the establishment of schools upon the grant-in-aid system ; and his Excellency in Council is the more anxious to see this brought about, because, apart altogether from the consequent pecuniary relief to Government, it is chiefly in this way that the native community will be able to secure that freedom and variety of education which is an essential condition in any sound and complete educational system. It is not, in the opinion of the Governor-General in Council, a healthy symptom that all the youth of the country should be cast, as it were, in the same Government educational mould. Rather is it desirable that each section of the people should be in a position to secure that description of education which is most consonant to its feelings and suited to its wants. The Government is ready

therefore to do all that it can to foster such a spirit of independence and self-help. *It is willing to hand over any of its own colleges or schools in suitable cases to bodies of native gentlemen* who will undertake to manage them satisfactorily as aided institutions; all that the Government will insist upon being that due provision is made for efficient management and extended usefulness. It will be for the Commission to consider in what mode effect can most fully be given to these views; and how the grant-in-aid system may best be shaped so as to stimulate such independent effort, and make the largest use of the available Government funds."

Whosoever were the hands that wrote these lines, the voice is clearly the voice of the Rev. Mr. Johnston, only pitched in an official key.

And a beginning has already been made with the Agra College. The Government has notified that the Agra College is to be abolished. But to break the blow, it is announced that it will be made over to a local managing body on certain terms. It seems to me that a curious question is likely to arise, as to what it is that the Government is prepared to make over. It cannot be the Professors; Mr. Deighton is a Government officer, who went out to India under covenant with the Secretary of State, and cannot be "made over" to private masters, however solid may be the guarantees. It can hardly be the "goodwill of the business" that the Government expects a local com-

mittee to take over ; for the value of this is a rather large negative quantity, as the official notification shows in order to justify the abandonment. The college buildings, and the endowments—the latter given by donors on the faith of the Government maintaining the institution—will probably find people willing to accept them ; but that they will be able to maintain the college on its old footing, or anything like it, is, I fear, out of the question. And if this expectation prove correct, I conceive that the Government will be bound in equity to return the endowment-funds to the representatives of the original donors. I am very confident that such an arrangement would be the only equitable one in the case of the Kishnaghur College, with the resuscitation of which I was personally connected. A very large sum was collected for the endowment-fund of that college, on the express understanding that the donations were given for the purpose of securing the continued Government support of the college. Donors of Rs. 1,000 and upwards were granted free nominations to the college on this understanding, for ever, and I am at a loss to understand how the Government can ever equitably shake off the obligation thus incurred ; and I think it very likely that similar difficulties will arise in the case of many, if not all, of the other State Colleges.*

* Since writing this, I have seen an article, published in the *Hindoo Patriot*, on the abolition of the Agra College ;

The resolution proclaims the willingness of the Government to hand over its colleges to private management "in suitable cases." I should like to ask who is to judge whether the case is "suitable" or not? and further, it would be interesting to know what the Government of India regards as the conditions of suitability. From what follows, it appears that all the Government will insist upon is, "that due provision is made for efficient management and extended usefulness." But the question immediately arises, what does the Government of India mean by "extended usefulness"? If it means (as is obviously intended to be understood by the unwary reader, who will find, I fear, more than one ambiguity in the resolution)—if it means, "extended usefulness in its former line," then I have no objection to urge; but the condition will, I am very confident, never be fairly realized.

The proposal here made by the Government of India is identical with the suggestion of "transference," that has been so persistently urged by Mr. Johnston and the "General Council on Education in India." The suggestion may sound plausible enough to the unwary reader; but I would ask every one who is honestly anxious for the progress and enlightenment of India to ponder deeply its exact significance. It is quite certain beforehand what verdict the educated Indian com- and this article entirely confirms the general views here expressed.

munity will give upon it ; and, though I cannot believe that Lord Ripon's Government will permit native opinion on such a point to be entirely overridden, I trust that, for the credit of the English name, the just claims of native opinion will in this case be supported by a strong body of English well-wishers. Let us put it honestly to ourselves. What should we say if similar proposals were made in regard to our own Universities?—if it were suggested that the educational work of Oxford and Cambridge should be farmed out to the corporations of those towns, or to some other committees, who should receive a “grant-in-aid,” and make the best they could out of the fees of the students? Of course, such a proposition would only be met with laughter. There may be some ill-natured and unsympathetic persons who refuse to see any analogy between the “disestablishment and disendowment” of our own ancient and glorious universities, and the same process when applied to the modern institutions of India ; but I resolutely maintain that the analogy is a perfectly accurate one, that cannot be scoffed at with any justice or honour by those Englishmen who honestly desire to regulate Indian affairs by the same rules which they would apply to English affairs. The prestige that attaches to Oxford and Cambridge, by reason of their antiquity and their rich endowment from royal gifts of Crown lands and similar sources, attaches to the Government colleges of India by reason of their connec-

tion with the State and their endowment from the public revenues of India. Every Englishman feels instinctively that an attempt to work Balliol or Trinity on strictly commercial principles by an aided joint-stock company, and to expect the results we now obtain, would be an utter absurdity ; let us then sympathise with similar feelings in the breasts of our Indian fellow-subjects. Any such attempt at Oxford or Cambridge would most undoubtedly result ultimately both in an enormous increase of the tuition fees, and in rapidly progressive deterioration in the character of the tutorial staff ; and in India the same thing would happen even more surely—for the advantages possessed by the Indian Government over private enterprise are even greater than those possessed by the great universities in this country. It has been seen (page 85) that Mr. Johnston actually adduces this prestige of the State Colleges (which he is even inclined to exaggerate) as a reason for the destruction of these colleges, on the ground that the aided colleges are unable to compete with them in this respect ! It would be difficult to find a better illustration of the dog-in-the-manger sentiment. Mr. Johnston cares nothing for the value of this prestige, as a thing of which the graduates themselves are honourably proud, and as an honourable incentive to intellectual exertion. He does not remember that its destruction would be a distinct loss to the educational forces at our command. It is a hateful

thing to him, apparently for no better reason than the fact that it is not, and cannot be, shared by the aided colleges. A like motive in England might lead the friends of the London University to agitate for the disestablishment and disendowment of Oxford and Cambridge ; but I am sure that in that case Mr. Johnston would feel the motive to be a very unworthy one. The deplorable results mentioned would accrue, even if the grants-in-aid to the college committees were given on such a liberal scale as to equal the present Government expenditure on the colleges ; but it is stated to be the wish of the Government to diminish that expenditure, in order to "set free" the funds for the extension of primary instruction. What may we expect if that wish be fulfilled ? It will be comparatively easy to start, by the free exercise of Government influence, a number of these aided colleges in the place of the established State colleges. But how will these institutions fulfil the legitimate aspirations of patriotic Indians, who desire to see their country furnished with the means of keeping well abreast of the enlightenment and civilization of the world ? They will start under the heaviest possible disadvantages, shorn of the prestige that no money can purchase, and at the same time still further handicapped by the precarious nature of their income, and the consequent necessity for a diminution of expenditure. The students' fees are already higher than those current in other univer-

sities, and it has been abundantly proved that any further increase is not likely to be financially successful—it will diminish the numbers, and tend largely to exclude the literary class. The action of private generosity is not likely to be stimulated by a measure which will be resented by the vast majority of educated Indians as an unjust and illiberal one, and which will be ascribed by many to religious bigotry or class jealousy. How, then, will these colleges face the loss caused by the “setting free” of their funds, indicated in the Government instructions? Obviously, they will have no option but to diminish the expenditure on their tutorial staff; and this will again react on their fee-income, and thus the process of deterioration will be a rapidly progressive one. The Missionary Colleges, doubtless, can resist this process, partly because they are richly endowed by the charitable contributions of religious people at home, and partly because the Missionary Professors, being actuated by higher motives than those which govern ordinary contracts and ordinary employments, look for other rewards than the mere pecuniary success of their enterprise. But it is neither honourable nor politic for the Government to adopt any measure that must tend to throw the highest education of India into the hands of a propaganda.

The voice of India is too little heard in regard to the expenditure of her own revenues. We are

continually assured, in the clap-trap of political speeches, that it is the desire of our rulers to ascertain, and as far as possible to follow, the reasonable wishes of the people themselves in such matters. Yet, here is a question in regard to which no shadow of doubt can be felt as to what those wishes really are ; and we find the Government appointing a powerful Commission, and urging it to "devise means" whereby, "if possible," those wishes may be frustrated. We are calmly told by official apologists that Lord Ripon has "armed the commission against influences naturally opposed to such an effort"—*i.e.*, against native public opinion—"by giving it strength and numbers:" and it seems to occur to no one that, if this were true, it would be both tyrannical and unjust. As I have already said, I hope and believe that the purely Indian element, reinforced by the skilled and experienced educational element in the Indian Educational Commission, will be able to resist the pressure that is apparently intended to be brought to bear upon them. But to enable them to do this successfully, it is highly desirable that the intelligent and unbiassed opinion of those who take an enlightened interest in the progress of India should be boldly expressed in support of the weak against the strong.

CHAPTER VIII.

HIGH EDUCATION IN INDIA CANNOT BE MADE OVER
TO THE MISSIONARY COLLEGES.

I PRINT, as Appendix F, a series of questions that were circulated among the Indian districts towards the close of last year ; together with the criticism thereon of the *Hindoo Patriot*. I fear it cannot be denied that the questions were distinctly “leading” —or misleading—in their character, and that the *Hindoo Patriot’s* severe remarks on them were fully deserved.

As Christians and as Englishmen we should never forget that the cause of Christian missions in India has to face a difficulty far greater and more delicate than any that can possibly meet us elsewhere ; the difficulty, namely, that by honour, by justice, by every religious sanction, we are forbidden the slightest use of our power as rulers in aid of proselytising efforts. When we forget this —as the “General Council on Education” seems to have forgotten it—we not only commit an un-

speaking political blunder, but further than this, we bring the religion that we would recommend into contempt and hatred. Moreover, such a controversy as that which has been stirred up by the "General Council" makes the position of conscientious Christians in the Indian Services particularly disagreeable and invidious. The stern dictates of their highest duty compel them to denounce a movement they would gladly see advanced by other and more straightforward means; and they are thus forced into apparent antagonism to a cause that would be very near their hearts, if it were fairly and honestly advocated. In every way the action of the "General Council on Education" is to be deplored, for the best interests of the people of India, for the sake of the Christian religion and the good name of the English nation, for the credit of our Indian administration. I would fain see the Council alter the line of its advance. The extension of mass education, and the enlargement of the sphere of usefulness of the Missionary Colleges, are both excellent objects to be kept in view, if they can be attained fairly and without injury to the State Colleges. Let the "General Council" open subscriptions for these purposes, and the funds so raised will do great good in India, both from the immediate results, and from the feelings of appreciation and gratitude that will be evoked among the Indian peoples by such a display of disinterested zeal and benevolence.

Or let the Council endow some private Colleges, so as to enable the latter to compete with the Missionary Colleges on equal terms when the State Colleges are closed. But for any useful action of this kind it is absolutely necessary, first of all, to show clearly that there is not involved in the movement any of that hungering after "hunks of the tempting cake of the education grant" of which the *Hindoo Patriot* speaks so bitterly.

With regard to the suspicion regarding the desire of Christian missionaries to get the highest education of the country entirely into their own hands, all that need be said is that, whilst the desire is perfectly legitimate and, indeed, praiseworthy on the side of the missionaries, we cannot wonder if orthodox Hindus and Muhammadans do not view the proposal with approval; on the contrary, it is quite reasonable that any disposition on the part of the Government to encourage these proselytising aspirations should be keenly resented by the native community. It is of course obvious that the withdrawal of the Government from the State colleges will at once enormously increase the power and importance of the missionary colleges—and this in several ways. In the first place, the rich endowments which they derive from the home mission funds will make their professors masters of the situation in the competition with "private enterprise." And in the second place, inasmuch as these funds will enable the missionary

colleges to offer a better, or at any rate a cheaper, education than that obtainable in the private colleges, the former will be enabled to take up a very different attitude on the question of religious teaching from that hitherto held by them. At present, in the many famous Missionary Colleges of India, the teaching is most efficient in the highest branches of mathematics, of philosophy, of natural science, of the whole "profane" learning of the universities; but in the matter of religion, General Tremmenheere has shown that a little perfunctory Bible reading for perhaps an hour or less each day is all that is ventured on—and it has been stated that the proved conversion of one of the students would probably have the effect of emptying the college to which he belonged. If the parents of the students thought there was any serious risk of their sons becoming Christians they would prefer to pay the Rs.12 fee of the Government Presidency College rather than incur that risk for the privilege of only paying Rs.5 per mensem. But in the case we are supposing there would be no Presidency College for them to turn to. The Missionary Colleges would be able to offer their students such an education as would usually place them at the head of the University class-list at an "eleemosynary" rate of payment; and might fairly claim in return the privilege of teaching them freely the doctrines of the Christian religion. It is, I admit, difficult for Christian men

to recognize in this contingency an unmixed evil. I have felt this difficulty. But every sentiment of fairness and justice must force us entirely to sympathize with and respect the feelings of our Hindu and Mussulman fellow-subjects in demanding from our common Government the most absolute neutrality in religious matters; and as a matter of expediency, as well as of equity, hardly any graver objection could be offered to a Government educational policy than that its natural result would be largely to throw the highest education of the Government into the hands of a propaganda, however laudable the aims of that propaganda might be.

CHAPTER IX.

CAUTION NEEDED IN THE EXTENSION OF PRIMARY
EDUCATION IN INDIA.

THE real secret of the educational difficulty in India is the inadequacy of the education grant. I do not complain of the undoubted fact that the assignments are inadequate to the needs of the country if the three R's are to be made universal; for it was once demonstrated by the Hon. Raja Siva Prasád, C.S.I., now a member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council, and formerly an inspector of schools in the North-West, that a cess of 10 per cent. on the rental would barely suffice to provide even the most rudimentary instruction for the boys of school-going age in that province. The populousness and the comparative poverty of India are such, that any attempt to cope with the educational problem in this spirit is, from a financial point of view, simply out of the question. But so long as school attendance is not made compulsory—and who would dare to suggest the possibility of such

an enactment under present circumstances?—we have not to face a state of affairs so utterly hopeless in regard to cost. Until the time shall arrive for compulsory education, it is obviously ridiculous for us to think of providing a supply of primary instruction in excess of the demand. We ought to stimulate the demand by every legitimate means in our power; and meanwhile to endeavour to adjust the supply to current needs. I believe that the investigations of the Commission now sitting in Calcutta will show that the funds allotted to education are entirely insufficient for the task, even when thus modestly limited. But it will be found, it may confidently be predicted, that a comparatively moderate increase in the educational grant—which might be trebled without exceeding the average liberality of the more advanced European States—will be sufficient to put the means of such elementary instruction as that contemplated by the Raja Siva Prasád within the reach of all who are likely to avail themselves of it. The evils produced by injudiciously forcing on the people an educational boon which they do not appreciate are well shown in a *Report on the Village Schools of the North-Western Provinces and the Punjab*, 1868, by the Hon. Bhudeb Mookerjea, C.I.E., Inspector of Schools in Bengal, and now a member of the Bengal Legislative Council,—whose general conclusions I shall quote in Appendix D. Similar, and even worse, evils were only

too apparent at first in Bengal, when Sir George Campbell in 1872-73 rushed the province into a grand scheme for the sudden diffusion of primary education, without any regard to the requirements of the people ; but the care with which that scheme has subsequently been modified, and the ability with which it has been worked, have, undoubtedly, produced admirable results. An article on *Education in Bengal*, which appeared in the *Calcutta Review* for October, 1870, dealt very effectively with the heroic views on this point of Mr. A. P. Howell, now a member of Lord Ripon's Education Commission ; and of this I print some extracts in Appendix E. Mr. Howell has long represented with great ability the extreme section of those who would force on India an amount of the three R's, for which there is little use and no demand, and who would curtail the higher education which the people rightly regard as their highest privilege. "We can improve," said the reviewer, "the instruction offered to those who already want to learn ; but it is only very gradually, and by the influence of such indirect means as the spread of vernacular literature, that we can hope to make those who now set no value on education become anxious for its benefits." And, again, "Unless we desire to undo all that has yet been effected, and to make all our future work void and useless, we must not hear of any proposal to sacrifice that higher teaching which alone gives our education any use. By all means

let us extend the fertilising channel far and wide over the thirsty plain, but we must not at the same time render ourselves ridiculous, and our labours fruitless, by damming up the water of life at the fountain head."

CHAPTER X.

THE POLITICAL SIDE OF THE INDIAN EDUCATIONAL QUESTION.

IN my discussion of the educational proposals of Lord Ripon's Government, I have hitherto considered them with reference solely to the effects they will produce on the future progress of the country, and on the happiness and prosperity of the Indian people. But another aspect of these proposals has been brought prominently to the front by a recent speech of the Hon. Mr. Hunter, the able President of the Educational Commission; who has supported the Government scheme for a wide extension of primary education partly at the cost of the higher education, by reference to the political effects that may be looked for from it. The educated community of India will agree with Mr. Hunter, that the political results of any changes in our educational machinery ought undoubtedly to be carefully considered by the Government, and by those who have any part in

the formation of public opinion. To none would any political revolution be more disastrous than to the educated class of Indian gentlemen—by none, I make bold to say, is any revolutionary movement more earnestly deprecated. But for this very reason I believe that Indian public opinion will *not* agree with Mr. Hunter in believing that the extension of a knowledge of reading and writing among the masses of India—if accompanied, as the Government suggests, by the “setting free of funds now devoted to high education”—will tend to make those masses less amenable to the pernicious influence of ill-disposed and seditious writers. On the contrary, I believe that Indian public opinion will say, “First create, by the spread of high education, a large literary class of intelligent and well-informed men; the experience of the Anglo-Native Press and of the better portion of the Vernacular Press, conducted by such men, shows that you then need no longer fear the evil effects of inflammatory and reckless writing, for such writing will soon become extinct.”

I will quote at length Mr. Hunter's words to which I refer, spoken on the occasion of the repeal of the Vernacular Press Act :—

“The Government can also do something to ensure good results from the Bill which we pass to-day. The preamble to Act 9 of 1878 sets forth the ignorance of the people as a ground for obtaining repressive regulations against the Press. ‘And whereas it is said, such publications are read by and disseminated amongst large bodies of ignorant and unintelli-

gent persons, and are thus likely to have an influence which they otherwise would not possess,' and so forth. Observe, it is not the inherent character of the publications that is alone complained of; but the special effect of such publications upon ignorant men. Now, I do not deny that the action of a free Press among densely ignorant masses is attended with some peril. But the only true remedy for the dangers of popular ignorance is the spread of popular education. If, therefore, in finally emancipating the Press, the Government could also see its way to more widely educate the people, it would send forth Liberty not alone upon her travels, but Liberty and Security hand-in-hand. A great work has already been done in public instruction upon the basis of Sir Charles Wood's despatch of 1854. But a still further extension of vernacular schools would form the true complement of the now perfected freedom of the Vernacular Press."

All this sounds very plausible. But the soundness of the propositions here enunciated clearly depends on what is meant by "popular education," and on the means by which it is to be extended; and for this we must go to the instructions given by the Government of India to Mr. Hunter's Commission. From these instructions we learn that the cost of extending popular education is to be met, to some extent, by setting free some of the funds now devoted to high education; and further, the extension of "popular education" that is contemplated is that of primary education to the masses. I have always advocated such an extension of primary education to the masses; I have always desired that the Government should

show increased diligence in the attempts to perform this very obvious duty ; but I advocate the extension on other grounds and by an entirely different method. If the suggestions of the official instructions be adopted, we shall have a considerable extension of "a little learning"—a very little—which taken entirely by itself is politically rather dangerous than the reverse. We shall have a considerable increase in the number of those who have enough learning to read, without having sufficient to understand and weigh, the representations that are put before them in print ; whilst at the same time we shall be doing our utmost to diminish the number of those whose higher education qualifies them to be intelligent and loyal leaders of their less privileged brethren. On the one hand, we shall be creating and encouraging among the masses of India intellectual and political aspirations ; on the other, we shall be depriving them of the leading and guidance, without which their newly-developed faculties must often prove a snare rather than a benefit

It is, of course, obvious that the soundness of my argument largely depends on the moral and political results of high education in India. There are those who think that our State colleges annually turn out a number of disaffected and discontented young men, who become useful and loyal citizens only so long as they can be employed by the Government, and whose knowledge is in most

other cases ready to be turned to evil account. There are also those who think that the necessarily undenominational character of the education given in State colleges tends to irreligion, and even to immorality. And once more there are those who think that the easiest solution of the difficulty of providing adequate employment for the educated gentlemen of India is to be found in cutting off the supply by maiming the colleges. I have already discussed these opinions. I most entirely believe that they are in no wise justified by the facts. It may be admitted that in India, as in every other civilized country of the earth, a provision of the means of high education adequate to the needs of the country is attended and followed by some over-crowding of the more desirable professions. But this is an evil that everywhere else has been found to work its own remedy. In India the remedy is more easily found than in any country more thoroughly "exploited"; for its vast resources and capabilities in a hundred lines are waiting to be developed by those who can combine the theoretical skill of the West with the practical knowledge of the East. Nor are there wanting signs that our Indian university men are beginning to appreciate the attractions of other lines of life than those at first sought by them. And, for contradiction of the vague and unauthenticated aspersions on the character of the highly educated section of the Indian community for loyalty, for

morality, for religion generally, we need only look to the tone and character of that portion of the periodical Press that is conducted and written by such men. In England, quite as much as in India, high Government officials find themselves pestered by applications for employment from well-educated men ; but they do not immediately turn round and propose to confiscate the revenues of our universities and public schools so as to rid themselves of the nuisance. And the disappointed aspirants for public employment, so far from becoming a political danger, ultimately serve to raise the standard of intelligence, and, therefore, of efficiency, in every department of professional and commercial activity throughout the country. And so, I venture to say, it will be in India ; if the Government will only patiently await the operation of natural economic laws, and the results of the downward filtration of knowledge and intelligence through the various strata of the Indian populations.

Sir Alexander Grant, Principal of the University of Edinburgh, and formerly Director of Public Instruction in Bombay, urged some of these considerations on the attention of the Government of India, in a " Note on Educational Administration in India," addressed to Sir Stafford Northcote a few days before the latter quitted office in 1868. There had been at that time under Sir John Lawrence, as now under Lord Ripon, a recrudescence of the agitation against the State connection with high

education ; and the *Calcutta Englishman* of March 24, 1869, thus described Sir Alexander Grant's views :—

“The writer instances the extraordinary multiplication of native newspapers and the eagerness with which they are read, as remarkable phenomena, indicative of the almost morbid restlessness of the native mind ; and he well shows that under these circumstances our only hope of diminishing the number of half-educated writers and readers of newspapers, and of thereby creating a really *sound* native opinion in the country, lies in carefully fostering the higher education as afforded in our colleges. The dangers and evils of the wide increase of the class of half-educated natives appear to be obvious ; the good policy of attempting a more general diffusion of the highest education, of a taste for pure and ennobling literature, and of the sound and really enlightened principles to be acquired by the well-directed study of history and political economy and jurisprudence will hardly be denied by anyone. The political importance of a careful supervision and direction by the State of this higher education is urged upon us by the example of all the stronger Continental Governments of Europe—notably by that of Prussia, where every high school and college is directly connected with the State.”

And as Sir Edward Clive Bayley, when Home Secretary, and Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, pointed out to the Convocation of that University in March, 1871, the welfare of the country must mainly depend on the highly educated class, the leaders of thought and opinion among their countrymen ; and they must “lend the aid of their acquirements and their influence to the improvement of the intellectual status, or else see

India left behind, both in enlightenment and in material prosperity, by countries with far less natural advantages."

With the encouragement and development of high education in India, an extension of mass education will be an unmixed good; without that development, it will be almost an unmixed evil.

CHAPTER XI.

THE TRUE SOLUTION.

THE cost of the Educational Commission that has been appointed by Lord Ripon will clearly be heavy ; for among its members, whose ordinary work will have to be otherwise provided for, we find officers of the rank of Commissioners of Division and Secretaries to Government. The Indian public will, doubtless, scrutinise this large expenditure narrowly, and will be justly disappointed if results commensurate therewith cannot be shown. It may fairly be questioned whether such results are possible, under any of the heads of inquiry to which the Government of India has directed the investigations of the Commission. All these inquiries have been the subjects of the life-long study of a large number of men of the highest ability and the greatest industry in the Educational Department. A comparison of the results obtained in the various provinces, and the general communication and explanation of the best points in

each, will be of very great utility, and will be satisfactorily effected by Lord Ripon's Commission; but a small Commission of experts would have performed this task at least as well, and at a fraction of the cost. There is, however, one grand reform—one that will render possible all the other improvements demanded—one that has been clamoured for in vain by every Director of Public Instruction in India for years past—that ought to be the result of such a powerful Commission as that now appointed. And if that reform is successfully pressed on the Government by the Commission, the whole of India will joyfully declare that its cost has been justified a hundred times over. It is quite certain that no mere educational committee of experts could obtain sanction for that reform. It was urged by Sir Alexander Grant in 1868 with all the force and energy at his command, but in vain. It has been urged by the native Press in ten thousand articles; it will be received by the native community with acclamation. If it is brought about by Lord Ripon's Commission, it will make his Excellency the most popular Viceroy that has ever ruled in India; it will be held to redeem all the ample promises of the Liberal party to a down-trodden and misgoverned race; it will make the Educational Commission of 1882, in the view of the people of India, the most significant historical event of the century. Need I say that the reform to which I allude is no more and no less than the

doubling or trebling of the educational grant in every province of the country?

The expenditure on public instruction in India is at the present moment about 1 1-3 per cent. on the revenue. I print in the Appendix a summary, from the *Hindu Patriot*, of the annual report of the Director of Public Instruction in Bengal. From that report we find that, of all the boys of school-going age, about one in six is under instruction. We further find that, out of every Rs. 100 spent on education in Bengal, where Government provides Rs. 40, the fees and the spontaneous contributions of the people provide Rs. 60; and the proportion thus contributed directly by the people has very greatly increased as the spread of the higher education has taught a wider appreciation of the benefits of education generally. These facts prove, not only that the current allegations in regard to the eleemosynary character of our public instruction are absurdly false, but also that Government may safely proceed to measures of further liberality, with the certainty of being met by the country more than half way, and with no danger whatever of pauperising the people.

In the more advanced countries of Europe, the State expenditure on public instruction—not to speak of the vast endowments that have in many cases been the inheritance of centuries of civilisation—varies from about 3 1-3 per cent. to something like five per cent. on the State revenues. In

India—backward as she is, and with her educational endowments “resumed,”* or forgotten—we grudgingly allot to this, the highest of State duties, a little over one per cent. Sir Alexander Grant, in his “Note on the Educational Administration of India,” 1868, earnestly, but vainly, pleaded for two per cent.—less than half the proportion allotted to the same subject by the German States. I trust that Lord Ripon’s Commission will realize the magnitude of the responsibility that is thrown

* The following paragraph appeared in *Allen’s Indian Mail* of Feb. 20:—The scare about the future of high education in India, caused by Lord Ripon’s newly-appointed commission, has unearthed a Mahomedan grievance which certainly ought to be fully investigated by the committee. It has been a good deal the fashion with those who (with Mr. A. P. Howell and the General Council on Education) advocate the disestablishment of the State Colleges, to taunt the Indian party with the lack of private endowments like those that have enriched some of the Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge. But this taunt will seem something like adding insult to injury, when it is known that vast Mahomedan endowments for educational and other pious uses were “resumed” by Government, in the great resumption proceedings that took place some fifty years ago. Even so late as the time of Sir George Campbell, the magnificent foundation of Mahomed Mohsin sufficed to maintain one of the largest State colleges in Bengal, that of Hooghly, besides supplying large funds for Imámbaras and many other charitable purposes. Sir George Campbell diverted the Mohsin endowment from the Hooghly College, taking the burden of the latter on the shoulders of Government, and assigning the endowment to support numerous scattered Madrasahs, Mahomedan scholarships, &c. But surely, if Government determines to disestablish the Hooghly College, it will be bound to give back to it the Mohsin endowment. And a similar reasoning will apply to hundreds of other diverted or “resumed” funds.

upon them in this respect, and will rise to the occasion. For the first time in the history of Indian education, an Educational Commission has been formed, of numbers and weight sufficient to ensure for its recommendations a respectful hearing from the Government of India. The peoples of India will forgive mistakes or shortcomings on other points, wherein the duty of the Commission may be less clear, if on this one cardinal point its voice gives no uncertain sound. I have shown elsewhere that any mutilation of the Indian system of high education must be none the less disastrous for being attempted with the benevolent view of extending primary instruction ; and the petty savings effected by any such mutilation would be a mere drop in the ocean, gained at the cost of frightful injustice, and of permanent injury to the welfare of the country.* I trust, then, that the Commission

* Since writing the above, I have found the following remarks in the *Friend of India and Statesman* of Feb. 13, strongly confirming this view :—The Commission will also be able, no doubt, to make important suggestions as to the policy that should be pursued in the future ; but the prime difficulty will still remain in the inadequacy of our funds, and, however wisely the Commission may lay down the lines of future progress, our advance along those lines must for many years be extremely slow. And those who hope that an amount of Government funds may be set free from purposes of high education, sufficient to make a vast increase in our power to extend elementary education, must be doomed to disappointment. The amount that can be thus set free must be comparatively trifling. Every little will help, but it would be easy to take away from the higher education an amount of Government aid, the want of which would greatly cripple it and retard its progress, while the advantage to

will boldly face the truth. Let them liberate their own souls, and boldly declare to the Government of India that the time has come when, in this respect, India must definitely take her place among the civilised nations of the world. Let them honestly show that the country demands primary instruction at the hands of the State for her lower classes, but not at the risk of barbarising her middle and upper classes, who are relatively no richer than the lower. Let them fairly estimate the cost, be it a sum involving an assignment of two, or even three, per cent. on the revenues of the State; and I am confident that the united public opinion of India and of England will demand such an assignment to be provided for.

mass education would be inappreciable. This is a danger and a possible blunder against which it will be the duty of the Commission carefully to guard itself.



APPENDIX.

APPENDIX A.

RESOLUTION APPOINTING EDUCATION COMMISSION OF 1882.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

HOME DEPARTMENT.

PRESENT POSITION OF EDUCATION IN BRITISH INDIA.

No. $\frac{1}{60}$.

*Extract from the Proceedings of the Government of India
in the Home Department (Education),—under date Fort
William the 3rd February, 1882.*

READ—

Selections from the Records of the Government of India,
Home Department,—

- (a) No. LXXVI.—“Collection of despatches from the Home Government on the subject of Education in India, 1854 to 1868.”
- (b) No. LIV.—“A Note on the State of Education in India, during 1865–66, by Mr. A. M. Monteath, C.S.”
- (c) No. LXVII.—“A Note on the State of Educa-

- tion in India, during 1866-67, by Mr. A. P. Howell, C.S."
- (d) A Note on the State of Education in India, during 1867-68, by Mr. A. P. Howell, C.S.
 - (e) Note on Education in British India prior to 1854 and in 1870-71, by Mr. A. P. Howell, C.S.
 - (f) Annual Reports on Public Instruction in the different Provinces of British India from 1871-72 to 1880-81.
 - (g) Circular letters to Local Governments and Administrations, Nos. 4—157 to 164, dated 10th June, 1881, and Nos. 6—230 to 239, dated 30th July, 1881, calling for report on the system of Primary Education now in force and the progress made in Primary Education since the Education Department was made over to Local Governments in 1871.
 - (h) Replies of Local Governments and Administrations to the foregoing circular.

RESOLUTION.

The despatch from the Court of Directors of the East India Company, No. 49 of the 19th July, 1854, laid down in clear, though general, terms the principles which should govern the educational policy of the Government of India. It set forth (in the words of Lord Dalhousie) "a scheme of education for all India, far wider and more comprehensive than the Supreme or any Local Government could ever have ventured to suggest. Up to the time of its issue the efforts of the Government in the cause of education had been marked neither by consistency of direction nor by any breadth of aim. The annual expenditure upon public instruction had been insignificant and uncertain; and the control of its operations had not been deemed worthy the attention of any special department of the State. The educational system elaborated in the despatch was indeed, both in its character and scope, far in advance of anything existing at the time of

its inception. It furnished in fact a masterly and comprehensive outline, the filling up of which was necessarily to be the work of many years. Hence it became a matter of importance that Government should from time to time review the progress made under its orders, and inquire how far the superstructure corresponded with the original design.

2. Such an inquiry was instituted by the Secretary of State for India in his despatch No. 4 of the 7th April, 1859, in which, after describing the measures actually taken upon the orders of 1854, Her Majesty's Government confirmed and supplemented the lines of policy therein contained, so far as general education was concerned, and called upon the Government of India for fuller report as to the operation of the system in all its parts. Owing to imperfections in the method of the annual reports as then prepared, the Government of India found it difficult to comply in any satisfactory manner with this demand of the Secretary of State, and it was not until the year 1867 that it was found possible to present anything like a complete review of the whole educational system. In March of that year Mr. A. M. Monteath, then Under Secretary in the Home Department, submitted his "Note upon the State of Education in India during 1865-66;" which was followed by similar "Notes," prepared by his successor, Mr. A. P. Howell, dealing with the statistics of 1866-67, 1867-68, and 1870-71.

3. In the year 1871 the control of the Educational Department was, under the operation of the financial decentralization scheme, made over to the Local Governments; and the Government of India has since that time had to depend mainly upon the Annual Departmental Reports for its knowledge of the manner in which the educational system is progressing, and in which it is being developed and adapted to the more modern requirements of the different Provinces.

4. In view of the facts that, since the measures set forth in the despatch of 1854 came into active operation, a full quarter of a century has elapsed, and that it is now ten years since the responsible direction of the educational system

was entrusted to the Local Governments, it appears to His Excellency the Governor-General in Council that the time has come for instituting a more careful examination into the results attained, and into the working of the present arrangements, than has hitherto been attempted. The experience of the past has shown that a mere critical review or analysis of the returns and reports of the different Provinces fails to impart a thoroughly satisfactory knowledge of the actual state of things in the districts, and that there are many points which only an acquaintance with local circumstances can adequately estimate or explain. His Excellency in Council has therefore decided to appoint a Commission on behalf of Government to inquire into the present position of education in British India, and to nominate to this Commission a sufficient number of persons from the different Provinces to secure the adequate and intelligent consideration of the facts that will be laid before it.

5. The Commission will be constituted as follows :—

President :

The Honourable W. W. HUNTER, LL.D., C.I.E.

Members :

The Honourable SYUD AHMED KHAN BAHADUR, C.S.I.

The Honourable D. M. BARBOUR, C.S.

The Reverend W. R. BLACKETT, M.A.

Mr. ANANDA MOHUN BOSE, B.A.

Mr. A. W. CROFT, M.A.

Mr. K. DEIGHTON, B.A.

Mr. J. T. FOWLER.

Mr. A. P. HOWELL, M.A., C.S.

Mr. H. B. JACOB.

Mr. W. LEE-WARNER, M.A., C.S.

The Reverend W. MILLER, M.A.

P. RANGANADA MUDALIAR, M.A.

The Honourable Baboo BHUDEB MOOKERJEE, C.I.E.

Mr. C. PEARSON, M.A.

The Honourable Maharaja JOTENDRO MOHAN TAGORE, C.S.I.
KASHINATH TRIMBUK TELANG, M.A., LL.B.

Mr. G. E. WARD, C.S.

A Representative of Roman Catholic Educational Missions.	} Nominations under con- sideration.
An Educational Officer from the Central Provinces.	
A Native Gentleman from the Punjab.	

Secretary :

Mr. B. L. RICE.

6. It will be the duty of the Commission to inquire particularly (subject only to certain limitations to be noticed below) into the manner in which effect has been given to the principles of the despatch of 1854; and to suggest such measures as it may think desirable in order to the further carrying out of the policy therein laid down. The Government of India is firmly convinced of the soundness of that policy, and has no wish to depart from the principles upon which it is based. It is intended only at the present time to examine into the general results of its operation, and to scrutinize the efficiency of the machinery that has been set on foot for bringing about those ends, which the Government from the outset had especially in view. The general purport of the despatch of 1854 was thus summarized by the Secretary of State in 1859:—

The improvement and far wider extension of education, both English and Vernacular, having been the general objects of the despatch of 1854, the means prescribed for the accomplishment of those objects were the constitution of a separate department of the administration for the work of education; the institution of universities at the several presidency towns; the establishment of training institutions for raising up teachers for the various classes of schools; the maintenance of the existing Government colleges and schools of a high order, and the increase of

their number when necessary; the establishment of additional zillah or middle schools; increased attention to vernacular schools for elementary education, including the indigenous schools already existing throughout the country; and finally, the introduction of a system of grants-in-aid under which the efforts of private individuals and of local communities would be stimulated and encouraged by pecuniary grants from Government in consideration of a good secular education being afforded in the aided schools.

It will be for the Commission to inquire how far these objects have been attained, and how this machinery is working at the present time.

7. It will not be necessary for the Commission to inquire into the general working of the Indian Universities, which are controlled by corporations comprising representatives of all classes interested in collegiate education. Of the results of their operation a fair estimate can always be formed independently of any special inquiry such as is now proposed. Nor will it be necessary for the Commission to take up the subject of special or technical education, whether medical, legal, or engineering. To extend the inquiry to these subjects would expand unduly the task before the Commission. Again, the Government of India has itself very recently dealt with the question of European and Eurasian education, and no further inquiry is necessary as regards that. But with these exceptions the Governor-General in Council is of opinion that the Commission may usefully consider the working of all branches of the Indian educational system. These branches are, it is believed, so closely connected one with another, that it is only by examining the system as a whole that any sound conclusions are likely to be come to. The Commission need not concern itself with the details of the educational system in British Burma. The arrangements there are of comparatively recent date, and in great measure peculiar to the Province. Any suggestions of general value that the Commission may evolve can easily be applied to British Burma hereafter in consultation with the Chief Commissioner.

8. It is the desire of the Governor-General in Council that the Commission should specially bear in mind the great importance which the Government attaches to the subject of primary education. The development of elementary education was one of the main objects contemplated by the despatch of 1854. Attention was specially directed in that despatch to the question "how useful and practical knowledge, suited to every station in life, might be best conveyed to the great mass of the people, who are utterly incapable of obtaining any education worthy of the name by their own unaided efforts," and it was desired that "the active measures of Government should be more especially directed for the future to this object." Although the matter was thus prominently and at the outset pressed upon the attention of the Indian Administrations, there can, His Excellency in Council believes, be very little doubt that, owing to a variety of circumstances, more progress has up to the present time been made in high and middle than in primary education. The Government of India is not disposed in any way to regret this advance. It would be altogether contrary to its policy to check or hinder in any degree the further progress of high or middle education. But the Government holds that the different branches of Public Instruction should, if possible, move forward together, and with more equal step than hitherto, and the principal object, therefore, of the inquiry of the Commission should be "the present state of elementary education throughout the Empire, and the means by which this can everywhere be extended and improved."

9. While this is the main object to which the inquiries of the Commission should be directed, the Governor-General in Council desires to impress upon it at the same time the fact that it is not possible for the Government to find funds sufficient to meet the full requirements of the country in the matter of primary education, if those requirements are to be judged by any European standard. The resources at the disposal of Government, whether Imperial, provincial, or

local, are, and must long remain, extremely limited in amount, and the result is, not only that progress must necessarily be gradual, but that, if satisfactory progress is to be made at all, every available private agency must be called into action to relieve and assist the public funds in connection with every branch of Public Instruction. It was in view of "the impossibility of Government alone doing all that must be done to provide adequate means for the education of the natives of India," that the grant-in-aid system was elaborated and developed by the despatch of 1854; and it is to the wider extension of this system, especially in connection with high and middle education, that the Government looks to set free funds which may then be made applicable to the promotion of the education of the masses. "The resources of the State ought," as remarked by the Secretary of State in despatch No. 13 of 25th April, 1864, "to be so applied as to assist those who cannot be expected to help themselves, and the richer classes of the people should gradually be induced to provide for their own education."

10. In pursuance of this policy it is the desire of Government to offer every encouragement to Native gentlemen to come forward and aid, even more extensively than heretofore, in the establishment of schools upon the grant-in-aid system: and His Excellency in Council is the more anxious to see this brought about, because, apart altogether from the consequent pecuniary relief to Government, it is chiefly in this way that the Native community will be able to secure that freedom and variety of education which is an essential condition in any sound and complete educational system. It is not, in the opinion of the Governor-General in Council, a healthy symptom that all the youth of the country should be cast, as it were, in the same Government educational mould. Rather is it desirable that each section of the people should be in a position to secure that description of education which is most consonant to its feelings and suited to its wants. The Government is ready therefore to

do all that it can to foster such a spirit of independence and self-help. It is willing to hand over any of its own colleges or schools in suitable cases to bodies of Native gentlemen who will undertake to manage them satisfactorily as aided institutions; all that the Government will insist upon being that due provision is made for efficient management and extended usefulness. It will be for the Commission to consider in what mode effect can most fully be given to these views; and how the grant-in-aid system may best be shaped so to stimulate such independent effort, and make the largest use of the available Government funds.

11. It is specially the wish of Government that municipal bodies should take a large and increasing share in the management of the public schools within the limits of their jurisdictions. The best way of securing this result should also be considered by the Commission.

12. It has been not unfrequently stated that the wealthier classes do not at present pay enough for the education of their children. The Governor-General in Council is disposed to think that a good deal of misapprehension exists as to the real truth in this matter; but it is one into which the Commission should make careful inquiry. It is no doubt right that persons in good circumstances should pay the full cost of their children's education, or at any rate that no part of this should fall upon State funds. But in endeavouring to secure this result, care must be taken that no unnecessary obstacles are thrown in the way of the upward progress of really deserving students of the poorer classes. The Governor-General in Council has no wish to close the doors of high education to all but the wealthiest members of the Native community. Hitherto those who have been most ready to take advantage of superior instruction have frequently belonged to families of comparatively limited private means, and there should, in the opinion of the Government of India, be no such sudden and general raising of fees as to carry high education beyond the reach of those classes who at present *bonâ fide* seek for it, or to convert the

Government colleges into places to which only the higher classes can procure admission. But, speaking broadly, the fees in colleges and high schools should be on the whole adequate; provision being made by means of a proper system of scholarships for the rise of youths of proved ability from the lowest to the highest grade of institution. The funds available for scholarships ought in any case to be so distributed that ample facilities for obtaining a good secondary education are held out to a large number of youths in the lower schools. The provision of scholarships tenable during a university course need not be so liberal, but should still be sufficient to afford the best of the pupils of middle and high schools a fair opportunity of obtaining an advanced education if they show themselves fit for it. The Government scholarships ought, however, in no way to be placed on an eleemosynary basis, but should always be given as distinct rewards for merit tested and proved by competitive examinations. This will leave a wide field open for the establishment of scholarships requiring local or other qualifications, through the munificence of private individuals or corporations. The Commission is requested to devote special attention to the whole subject of scholarships with reference to the foregoing remarks.

13. In connection with the general subject of primary education, the Commission should particularly inquire as to the extent to which indigenous schools exist in different parts of the country, and are, or can be, utilised as a part of the educational system. The Government of India is disposed to advocate the making as much use as possible of such schools.

14. The investigation of this last point will no doubt lead the Commission to consider the subjects of instruction for primary schools. It is very important that schools of this class should be made as attractive as possible to the classes of the population for whom they are intended. By teaching subjects to which the parents attach importance children will be more readily drawn into the schools, and it will not

then be difficult to graft on to those more popular branches of instruction others which are more valuable from a sound educational point of view. It is believed that the great hold which in many parts of the country the indigenous schools have acquired over the masses is due to the *quasi-technical* character of the instruction given;—the son of the ryot and the petty trader being taught, though often in a mechanical and unintelligent way, things likely to prove useful to him in his daily after-life. It would seem that in some provinces the advantages of this system have been overlooked in favour of a scheme of elementary education more in accordance with European methods and standards.

15. Bearing these facts in mind, the Commission should consider how best to provide for the extension of primary schools, and in discussing this the limitation imposed upon the action of Government by financial considerations must always be borne in mind. Subject to this it may be said that, generally speaking, the great object in the first instance is to get such schools established: their improvement and elevation to a higher standard being, though of great importance, an object of subsequent endeavour. Provision for such improvement in a reasonable way, by a gradual raising of the standard of instruction entitling to grants of public funds must, however, be made; and the Commission should advise as to how this can best be done without attempting a too rapid advance or throwing obstacles in the way of the extension of the area of instruction, especially in backward districts.

16. The arrangements existing in different parts of the country for training the teachers of primary schools should be brought under careful review, and suggestions for rendering that training more efficient and practical should, if possible, be submitted.

17. In connection with the subject of secondary education, the Governor-General in Council is disposed to think that good might result from an inquiry into the quality and character of the instruction at present imparted in schools

of this class. The great majority of those who prosecute their studies beyond the primary stage will never go beyond the curriculum of the middle or at furthest of the high schools. It is therefore of the utmost importance that the education they receive should be as thorough and sound as possible. There are grounds for doubting whether there is not, in some provinces at any rate, much room for improvement in this respect. It might be advisable at the same time to inquire what practical steps are being taken to give effects to the suggestions of the Simla Text Books Committee, and the orders of the Government of India thereupon, as contained in the Resolution of the Home, Revenue and Agricultural Department, No. 1—3-18 of the 10th January 1881; especially as regards the arrangements made for teaching such subjects as may store the minds of the pupils in secondary schools with practical and useful information. It will be understood that the Government of India has no wish to depart from the principles laid down in that Resolution. It would be contrary to the policy of Government to adopt any measures that would have the appearance of restricting aided schools to the use of any particular class of text-books, or to interfere with the free choice of the managers in such matters. But it is desirable to know how far the general suggestions of the Committee have found acceptance in the different provinces, and what is being done to carry them out in the case of both Government and aided instruction.

18. The Commission may further with advantage inquire into the present system of educational inspection, with a view to the removal of defects and introduction of improvements. It is quite certain that if there is any great extension of primary schools, arrangements must be made for securing the assistance of a large amount of voluntary agency in the work of inspection and examination. The most likely means of securing this should be considered and discussed.

19. In its bearing upon the grant-in-aid system, the plan of payment-by-results will call for the careful consideration

of the Commission. The mode in which this is at present worked in the different provinces,—the extent to which it would be wise or practicable to enforce it generally,—its applicability to primary as well as to secondary and collegiate education,—are all matters demanding special investigation.

20. Lastly, the Governor-General in Council would wish the Commission to consider the important and difficult subject of female education, and the best means of encouraging and extending it, so far as the circumstances of the country will at present permit.

21. The Government of India has indicated generally in the foregoing paragraphs the matters to which the inquiries of the Commission may chiefly and most properly be directed; but it is at liberty to express its opinion upon any matter arising out of, or cognate to, the subjects thus referred to it.

22. As regards the manner of conducting the inquiry, the Governor-General in Council thinks that the Commission should meet at Calcutta as soon as its members can be got together; and that it should sit for the transaction of business until at any rate the end of March. After that the members should return to their provinces, while the President and the Secretary should arrange to make a tour (say) during the rains to the different presidencies, with a view to collecting definite information on any points indicated by the Commission upon which such local inquiry may seem necessary. The Commission should then re-assemble early in December, and proceed to the final settlement of the questions before it and the preparation of its report. In the matter of procedure the Commission will be left free to make its own arrangements, and may call for such information or take such evidence as may seem necessary or desirable for the purposes of its inquiry.

23. Advantage will be taken of the presence on the Commission of educational officers from different provinces to have the Annual Statistical Returns of Education once for all revised and placed upon an intelligible and uniform basis.

ORDER.—Ordered, that a copy of the above Resolution be

forwarded to the President and Members of the Commission, and to all Local Governments and Administrations for information, and that it be published in the *Gazette of India*.

(True Extract.)

A. MACKENZIE,

Offg. Secretary to the Govt. of India.

APPENDIX B.

From W. S. ATKINSON, Esq., M.A., Director of Public Instruction, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal—(No. 4394, dated Darjeeling, the 15th October, 1868).

SIR,—In reply to your No. 3758, dated 31st July, forwarding for report a letter from the Government of India, in the Home Department, (No. 413, dated 13th July,) proposing an increase of the fee rates in the Presidency College and Schools, I have the honour to forward a communication, with enclosures, from the Principal, Mr. Sutcliffe,* and at the same time to submit the following observations, which I trust will receive the support of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor.

2. The main ground on which the Governor-General in Council bases the argument in favour of a large increase of the present fee rates, appears to be that “the College is very generally believed to be frequented by the sons of very wealthy men,” to which is added, as a further argument, that “the instruction given at the Presidency College is of a very high order, so that it possesses considerable pecuniary value in Bengal Proper.” From many recent indications, it is clear that the Government of India has come to believe that it is a truth, possessing the full authority of an undisputed axiom, that the Lower Provinces of Bengal are peopled by large classes of landholders and others possessing vast incomes and all the superfluities of wealth, and that these are the classes which supply our higher schools and colleges

* No. 862, 11th September, 1868.

with the students who throng them. What may have been the origin of this belief I know not, nor is it of consequence to inquire; but that it is in every respect a misconception and delusion is perfectly well known to all the Officers of Government in these Provinces, and the Lieutenant-Governor will certainly bear me out in impressing this fact upon His Excellency the Governor-General in Council.

3. There are undoubtedly in Calcutta a fairly large number of wealthy Merchants, Bankers, Professional persons, and Landholders, and there are a few families who may be ranked along with them in the country districts as possessors of considerable incomes; but this moneyed class is an exceedingly small one, and may be counted by hundreds amongst the millions of the population that surround them. The Zemindars of Bengal in particular, instead of rolling in wealth, as appears to be popularly believed, are, in reality, as a body, possessed of very moderate means, and large numbers of them are actually poor. Under the permanent settlement the sub-division of beneficiary interests in land has been carried out with extraordinary minuteness, under a variety of most complicated tenures, and the result is that the wealth derived from proprietary rights in the soil is distributed amongst enormous masses of the population. These constitute the bulk of the large middle class of Bengal, and there is probably no country in the world where this class is so numerous, in proportion to the entire mass of the community at large. It is this middle class which almost exclusively supplies the population of our schools and colleges of every rank and standard, and it is in behalf of this class that I venture to plead, most earnestly, against the views which seem to be now in the ascendant in the Supreme Government of India.

4. In opposition to the creed which at present governs all financial measures bearing on Public Education, I venture to maintain, unreservedly, that no item of State expenditure is capable of more complete justification, on every ground of a liberal and enlightened policy, than that which is devoted to

the maintenance of schools and colleges of a high order, for the benefit of those classes of the population who value superior education and will avail themselves of the means of obtaining it. That it is for the good of the State that such education should be placed within the reach of the wealthy classes alone appears to me a proposition that cannot be maintained by any ingenuity of argument. Those at least who have something more than a lip belief in the civilizing and elevating power of an education which goes beyond a mere introduction to the first elements of knowledge, will feel that it is impossible to spread its blessings too widely, and that, as every class of the community will benefit, directly or indirectly, by its powerful influence, their common contributions to the public purse may be justly and most wisely employed in enabling all who will, the poor and rich alike, to avail themselves of the means of obtaining the highest culture which it is possible, in the circumstances of the country, to supply. It seems clear, however, that the justice of devoting the public funds of the State to the promotion of the higher education is largely dependent on the extent to which the opportunities of obtaining this education are offered to all who wish for it. If it is to be restricted to the rich, the public funds are wrongfully employed in its support. They are rightly and wisely employed when they place it, as far as possible, within the reach of all. If this view is sound, and I have the profoundest conviction of its truth, it follows that the maximum fee rates in our colleges and schools should be scrupulously kept within such moderate limits that they can be paid without difficulty by the great bulk of those classes of the people who are willing and anxious to resort to them.

The early adoption of this view in America has led in many of the Northern States to the establishment of a system of schools and colleges of every standard, maintained out of State income, in which the instruction given is absolutely free; and on the same principle, in all the foremost countries of Europe where Public Education has been organized by

extent, as it should be, by the people themselves, this difficulty might probably be overcome, and if we could depend on the local boards to make suitable selections, I believe that a portion of the proceeds of Zillah taxation might be very properly and wisely employed for such a purpose. Any measure of this kind should here, however, as in France, be supplementary to moderate rates of regular tuition fees, and should mainly be directed to the *maintenance* of the students during their course of study, which no less in Bengal than in all other countries must always involve a vastly larger outlay than the mere fee payments for instruction in the lecture room.

8. I have still to remark on the alternative suggestion that has been made, proposing a graduation of fees according to the supposed wealth of the students who pay them. The proposition is an extraordinary one, and in my humble judgment altogether inadmissible. The arrangement appears indeed to be actually in operation in the Agra College, but I should suppose that this must be the only institution of the kind in the world where it could be found in force. The Government of India has however practically disposed of its own suggestion, by the admission that it is possible that "in a Province like Lower Bengal, there may be difficulties in inquiring into the income of the parents and regulating their payments accordingly." There would unquestionably be the very greatest possible difficulty in arriving at the truth in such an inquiry, and I can imagine few propositions more open to serious objection than one which would assign to the Principals of our Colleges the duties of an Assessor of Income Tax, involving minute and offensive investigations which must extend to the most distant parts of the country. But my objection to the proposal goes much further than this. To my apprehension the exaction of payments assessed according to income is radically vicious in principle. What, it may be asked, would be thought of a similar scheme applied to the administration of justice in the Civil Courts, providing that the rates

of fees payable should be determined, not by the value of the interests in dispute, but by the supposed wealth of each several litigant? Most economists would probably call this confiscation. The word has an ugly look, but to my mind it correctly describes the effect of such a measure. I can see nothing to recommend this alternative plan on any ground, either of abstract justice or practical expediency, and I sincerely hope that the Lieutenant-Governor will decline to sanction so novel an expedient.

From J. SUTCLIFFE, Esq., M.A., Principal, Presidency College, to W. S. ATKINSON, Esq., M.A., Director of Public Instruction—(No. 862, dated Presidency College, the 11th September, 1868).

SIR,—With reference to the letter No. 412 of 13th July, from the Government of India, and the letter No. 3758 of 31st July, forwarded with your Memorandum No. 3623 of 10th August, I have the honour to submit the following report.

2. Before any change of the kind indicated in paragraph 6 of the letter from the Government of India can be fairly discussed, it is obvious that a statement should be prepared, in which the social position and incomes of the parents or guardians of the students of the College are set forth, with the utmost accuracy attainable. Accordingly, on the receipt of the letters of Government, I proceeded to make personal inquiries on these points from every student of the General Department, and the results are embodied in the tables given below. I do not claim for these statistics absolute accuracy, but I have spared no pains to get at the truth, and I believe that I may submit them as being as approximately correct as it is possible to ascertain in an inquiry of this nature. My inquiries were confined entirely to the students of the General Department, as the Law Department is already self-supporting, and the Civil Engineering Department is admitted to be one which, if retained at all, must be mainly supported by the State.

3. The following statement shows the number of students

at present on the Rolls, the Circles from which they come, and the number of Scholarship holders in each year :—

	Total Number of Schools.	From Calcutta Circle.		From Mofussil Circle.	
		Pay Students.	Scholars.	Pay Students.	Scholars.
1st Year	96	41	30	5	20
2nd Year	105	51	36	11	7
3rd Year	38	21	10	2	5
4th Year	41	21	4	12	4
5th Year	10	1	5	1	3
Total	290	135	85	31	39

In the first and second year classes scholars pay only half the regular fee. In the third and fourth year classes scholars pay the same fee as other students.

4. The following is a classification of the students according to the social position of parents or guardians :—

	1st Year.	2nd Year.	3rd Year.	4th Year.	5th Year.	Total.
Zemindars	15	21	3	10	2	51
Talookdars	7	4	...	1	...	12
Owners of Brahmutter Land	2	...	1	...	...	3
House Owners & Fund Holders	3	3	2	...	1	9
Government Pensioners ...	4	5	1	2	...	12
Merchants	2	4	3	...	...	9
Banians	5	1	3	1	...	10
Brokers and Petty Traders ...	6	7	1	...	...	14
Tradesmen	6	9	1	3	2	21
Judicial Officers	1	4	3	2	1	11
Sub-Assistant Surgeons ...	...	4	1	1	...	6
Professors	1	3	...	1	...	5
School Masters	2	3	...	1	...	6
Police Officers ... ..	...	3	1	...	...	4
Pleaders	5	3	2	2	1	13
Priests	1	1	1	...	...	3
Mookhtears	1	1	...	...	...	2
Clerks in Government Offices	12	16	3	8	3	42
Clerks in Private Offices ...	16	11	10	9	...	46
Others	7	2	2	...	...	11
Total	96	105	38	41	10	290

5. A classification of parents or guardians according to monthly income gives the following result :—

Amount of Monthly Income.				1st Year.	2nd Year.	3rd Year.	4th Year.	5th Year.	Total.
	Rupees	5,000...		...	1	1	...	...	2
	"	4,000...		...	1	...	...	...	1
	"	3,000...		3	2	...	...	...	5
	"	2,500...		1	1	...	1	...	3
	"	2,000...		...	...	...	1	...	1
Rupees 1,500 and less than	"	2,000...		2	4	...	...	...	6
" 1,000	"	1,500...		6	7	1	4	1	19
" 500	"	1,000 ..		5	10	3	2	...	20
" 200	"	500 ..		6	16	8	3	3	36
" 100	"	200...		15	23	6	10	3	57
Below Rupees 100	...	...	...	58	40	19	20	3	140
Total ...				96	105	38	41	10	290

6. An analysis of the statement regarding the incomes of the guardians of students holding Junior and Senior Scholarships shows that—

Of the 93 Junior Scholars in the first and second year classes, there are 59 whose guardians have incomes below Rupees 100, and 20 whose incomes are between Rupees 100 and Rupees 200 a month.

Of the 23 Senior Scholars in the third and fourth year classes there are 14 whose guardians have incomes below Rupees 100, and five with incomes between Rupees 100 and Rupees 200 a month.

Of the seven graduates, who hold foundation scholarships, there are four whose guardians have incomes below Rupees 100, and one with an income of Rupees 150.

7. The preceding statements show that very few of our students belong to the wealthy families of Calcutta and the Suburbs; in fact, that only 12 students, or less than 5 per cent. of the entire number, have monthly incomes of Rupees 2,000 and upwards. This may at first sight seem to be incredible, but I believe that it represents the actual case.

I have had the advantage of being assisted by the two Native Professors of the College, and the experienced Assistant Secretary in framing these returns, and from a list of about 60 notoriously wealthy families of Calcutta and the Suburbs which they have prepared, I find that only five of these have representatives in the College classes. I think, therefore, that the statistics are perfectly reliable, and that you would be justified in making any recommendation to Government on the question of fees which you may think they warrant.

8. One fact appears prominently in these returns, *viz.*, that the holders of Scholarships are almost entirely the sons of poor men. These Scholarships are gained by public competition amongst the Schools and Colleges of each circle, and the liberality of Government in awarding so many annually forms one point, amongst many others, in which the system of public instruction in Bengal very closely resembles that of France. Any present increase in the number of these Scholarships or Bursaries is, I think, unnecessary, and I would equally deprecate any increase in the general fee payable by students irrespective of the income of their guardians. I have not the means of ascertaining precisely the necessary expenses of a student at one of the French or Prussian State-supported Institutions of the same class as the Presidency College, but I believe that the amount is nearly the same in India and Europe. You probably have the means of instituting a comparison of this kind, and to enable you to estimate correctly the cost to a Mofussil student of coming to this College to be educated, I forward a report on this point from Baboo Peary Churn Sircar, who has had considerable experience in the management of Hostels for students.

9. I quite concur in the propriety of levying the highest fee in this College which circumstances warrant; but probably there is a misapprehension as to the position in life of the parents whose sons are chiefly found in our classrooms. If so, perhaps the Government of India may, on

representation of the actual state of the case, determine upon not enforcing any present change in the amount of the College fee. It seems to me that two-thirds of our students are drawn from ranks of society, which in any part of Europe, where a system of State-supported collegiate education prevails, would form precisely the classes the State desired and intended to benefit. In Great Britain there are no Institutions (with perhaps the single exception of the Queen's College in Ireland) which can be compared in their aim and object with our Indian Colleges, but on the Continent there are ample materials for a fair comparison, and unless I am greatly mistaken, India will compare favourably with Europe in the cost to the State of the highest order of education.

10. The statistics embodied in this letter will enable you to comply with the request contained in paragraph 6 of the letter from the Government of India, and I hope you will agree with me in the opinion that a "considerable elevation" of the general fee payable by all students is not a desirable measure. To the principle of the graduation of the fee according to income, I see no great objections if carried out according to some well-considered plan. It may seem to be drawing an invidious distinction to adopt a system of this kind in a State College, and possibly there would be no great increase in the amount of fees collected. But if the plan of levying a graduated fee be approved, I would suggest some such plan as the following :—

All incomes up to Rupees 500 a month should be charged with the present fee of 12 Rupees. There would be immense difficulties in adopting any lower sum for the minimum fee, and the fee in itself is not at all disproportionate to the income of a guardian. Indeed, it has been represented to me by several guardians, whose opinions I have asked on this question, that Rupees 10 would be a more appropriate minimum fee; for incomes between Rupees 500 and Rupees 1,000, a fee of Rupees 15 might be levied; and for incomes between Rupees 1,000 and Rupees 2,000, the fee might be

Rupees 20. For all incomes in excess of Rupees 2,000 a month one general fee of Rupees 25 might be charged, the plan of levying a fee graduated according to income was in force at Hooghly some time ago, but it was not found to work satisfactorily and was abandoned. Probably the main difficulty in carrying out a system of the kind results from fixing upon too low an income for the minimum fee. In Calcutta and the Suburbs men with incomes in excess of Rupees 500 a month are generally well known; but if an income of Rupees 100 or Rupees 200 were fixed upon as a starting point, there would be considerable difficulty in assessing a guardian correctly.

11. With reference to paragraph 7 of the letter from the Government of India, I beg to state that the two Calcutta Schools under my charge, the Hindoo School and the Hare School, are both self-supporting; I hope, therefore, that it may not be deemed necessary to raise the fee in either of these Schools.

FROM BABOO PEARY CHURN SIRCAR, Professor, Fourth Grade, Presidency College, to J. SUTCLIFFE, Esq., M. A., Principal Presidency College—(dated Calcutta, the 31st August, 1861).

SIR,—With reference to your enquiries as to the charges which the students of the Presidency College coming from the Mofussil have to incur for boarding and lodging in Calcutta, I beg to submit the following:—

Those that can afford to take separate houses individually have to pay for house rent Rupees 16 per mensem at the lowest. This sum gives them barely three or four small and ill-ventilated rooms, one or two of which may be on the second floor. The charges for food of ordinary quality amount to about Rupees 24 per month, including the wages and food of one servant and one cook. Adding to the above the pay of the sweeper and the washerman and the cost of bedding and every day clothing amounting in all to about

Rupees 12 per month, the total expenses of a student in Calcutta is about Rupees 52 monthly, inclusive of tuition fees and the cost of books, stationery, &c. This, however, is a poorer style than what a Zemindar or Millionaire's son would like to live in. But there are not many in this College who can afford to expend even so much as Rupees 52 for lodging and boarding alone, most of them, I believe 90 per cent., being the sons of people belonging to the middle classes, who have hardly any other source of income than the salary they get as clerks, teachers, sub-assistant surgeons, native doctors, &c., or the proceeds of petty traffic as retail shop-keepers, money lenders, wholesale dealers in country produce on a small scale. Some of them call themselves *Talookdars*, but being entitled only to small shares of talooks, the net income of the whole of which ranges from Rupees 200 to Rupees 1,000 a year, they are actually the poorest of those who send their sons to any College.

By far the larger part of the students that come from the Mofussil lodge here in a sort of mess account, in parties of four or five, sometimes eight or ten, in small houses that can hardly be said to afford any proper accommodation. Their food also is poor, and the division of the house rent, and the wages of servant and cook, makes a very trifling amount for each to pay on that score. The total of their expenses, including tiffin, bedding, &c., is about Rupees 16 per month. There are some, again, who are still poorer and fare still more poorly and lodge in quarters not at all fit for their habitation. Their monthly total is about Rupees 12 generally, at the lowest. But such cheap living is reprehensible on the consideration that it is likely to injure their health; and I have personally known several instances in which the students so living have seriously suffered in respect of health. Some of these were so distressing cases that I felt it my duty to bring these to the notice of Mr. W. Gordon Young, and subsequently of Mr. W. S. Atkinson, and to suggest the expediency of making some provision for the convenient boarding and lodging of students in Calcutta with the lowest

expenses possible. Mr. Atkinson, with the view of making such provision, established the Hindu Hostel in 1861. The lowest rate that a student has to pay for boarding and lodging in the Hostel is Rupees 10 per month, exclusive of charges for milk, tiffin, bedding furniture, washerman, clothing, &c., which at the lowest come to another Rupees 15, so the total expense of a student in the Hindu Hostel is about Rupees 25 a month at the lowest, exclusive of tuition fees and cost of books, stationery, &c. I must here observe that though the greater number of boarders in the Hostel pay the higher rates of Rupees 11 and 12, there has been all along, until the close of the last year, a deficit every month, which the Director of Public Instruction has paid from his contingent allowance, sometimes the deficit amounted to more than Rupees 100 for one month alone. Properly speaking, therefore, the total expense of a Hindu Hostel boarder is higher than Rupees 25 a month.

Some Native gentlemen have lately opened a boarding house near this College, where not only students but teachers and clerks also board and lodge. A first class boarder occupying the third part of a small upper room, divided by screens, and taking no better food than what a Native gentleman of ordinary respectability in Calcutta takes at home, has to pay Rupees 40 monthly, there are other rates, varying from Rupees 6 to 16, but those who avail themselves of the cheaper rates lodge and board in an indifferent manner, in a much poorer style than what the Hindu Hostel boarders live in.

In conclusion, I beg to observe, from the personal knowledge that I have of people in the Mofussil likely to send their sons to this College, that the high rate of tuition fees and the heavy expenses of lodging and boarding in Calcutta deter many of them from sending their sons to complete their education.

APPENDIX C.

THE *HINDOO PATRIOT* ON EDUCATION IN BENGAL.

THE last annual report of the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, possesses more than ordinary interest. It is not a dry statement of facts and figures. It gives the outside public a fair insight into the policy of the department, its internal working, and its practical results. It shows also the care and attention with which the details are administered not only by the director, but also by the inspectors and the subordinate staff generally. The resolution of the Lieutenant-Governor on the report takes a calm and statesman-like view of the state of education in Bengal. We observe that since 1877, when there were 21,478 schools and 589,351 pupils, the number of schools under inspection has more than doubled, while the number of pupils has increased by nearly 60 per cent. Of the whole number of 928,489 pupils in schools of all classes, 893,941 are boys. The number of males in Bengal is shown by the recent census to be about thirty-four millions, which would, according to the ordinary estimate of 15 per cent., comprise about 5,100,000 boys of school-going age, among whom, therefore, more than one in six is at school. Among girls of school-going age, about one in 150 is at school. The following summarises returns for two years :—

Class of Instruction.	1880.		1881.	
	Schools.	Pupils.	Schools.	Pupils.
University—Colleges	20	2,080	20	2,526
Secondary—				
High English Schools	200	38,618	218	42,558
Middle English Schools	554	32,812	588	35,348
Middle Vernacular Schools	1,085	54,562	1,028	54,208
Lower Vernacular Schools	1,498	54,296	1,701	59,318
Primary Schools	35,258	613,452	41,699	701,568
Special	58	3,520	1,425	13,536
Female	657	15,158	828	19,427
European and Eurasian	46	4,523	—	—
Total	39,376	819,030	47,507	928,489

The schools shown in the above statement are again classified as follows :—

Class of Instruction.	1880.		1881.	
	Schools.	Pupils.	Schools.	Pupils.
Government Schools and Colleges	301	29,332	303	29,775
Aided	32,412	683,352	40,490	777,173
Unaided	6,663	106,346	6,714	121,541
Total	39,376	819,030	47,507	928,489

The expenditure of the Education Department under several heads was as follows :—

Budget Head of Expenditure.	Sanctioned Estimate. 1880-81.	Expenditure. 1880-81.
	Rs.	Rs.
Direction and Inspection	4,18,100	4,43,647
Government Colleges and Madrasahs	4,53,558	4,56,984
Government Schools	6,47,300	6,69,735
Grants in Aid and Assignments—		
For Secondary and Superior Instruction ..	4,25,000	4,13,326
For Primary Instruction	4,00,000	4,07,281
Scholarships	1,60,000	1,50,802
Miscellaneous	48,742	33,346

Deducting receipts, which amounted to Rs. 513,856, the net expenditure to Government was Rs. 20,61,215. Now Bengal yields a total revenue of eighteen crores and three-quarters both imperial and provincial, and the educational expenditure represents $2\frac{1}{2}$ pies per every rupee of revenue, and 6 pies per head of population, the total population being 68,000,000. It will be thus seen that the educational expenditure of Bengal is grossly disproportionate to its revenue and population. If the whole expenditure upon education in Government and aided schools be taken into account, including University charges paid by candidates, the charges for medical education, and the fee receipts of aided schools, it will be found that the Government expenditure has risen from Rs. 21,97,000 in 1879-80 to Rs. 22,64,000 in 1880-81, while the private expenditure has increased in the same period from Rs. 25,71,000 to Rs. 28,56,000. These results are eminently satisfactory. Including the unaided schools the total expenditure on education rises to Rs. 55,86,000, of which the share paid by Government was a little over 40 per cent. And yet it is said that the education given to the people of this country is eleemosynary. The total number of students in all colleges has risen during the year from 2,080 to 2,526, or by more than 21 per cent.—a rate of increase which the director describes as unprecedented. In Government colleges there has been an increase of 174 students, or 15 per cent.; in aided colleges of 155, or $23\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; and in unaided colleges of 117, or nearly 35 per cent. Comparing the financial results for four years, the Lieutenant-Governor observes that Government expenditure on collegiate education has increased more largely than expenditure from private sources. The demand for collegiate education has compelled the Government to provide additions to the professorial staff. This demand is a growing one, and it is, in Sir Ashley Eden's opinion, impossible that Government can keep up with this growing demand; any further increase of expenditure for the staff of colleges should be paid by the students themselves. This means that there should be no

further increase to State expenditure on high education. His Honour has also ordered a moderate increase in the fee rates of the Mofussil Colleges. So Exeter Hall agitation against high education in India is telling upon the Government. Even such a bold Governor as Sir Ashley Eden has been obliged to hold back. His Honour admits that it is not the rich who resort to our colleges, but the poor middle classes, who can ill afford to pay high fees, and yet he is trimming his sails to suit the prevailing wind. But we are afraid that while the increase of fees in the Mofussil College will press hard upon the poor middle class, it will not satisfy the Exeter Hall party. These want that the Government colleges be abolished altogether; but we do not believe that the Government, however Radical its sympathies, is prepared to go to that length. Primary education, we are glad to note, is advancing at a rapid rate. The total number of primary schools for boys has risen from 35,258 with 613,452 pupils, to 41,699 with 701,568 pupils, showing an increase of 6,441 schools and 88,116 pupils. Besides these indigenous *tols* and *maktabs*, to the number of nearly 1,400, with 10,000 pupils, which in the previous year were included among primary schools, have now been transferred to the head of "special instruction." It follows that about 98,000 additional pupils have been brought on the returns of primary schools. Of the whole number of schools returned as primary, 36,002, with 618,328 pupils, receive aid in some form or other from Government, while 5,697, with 83,240 pupils, are unaided. The general character of the primary system in Bengal may be indicated as follows:—Each teacher of an aided school receives on the average Rs. 9½ a year from Government, and Rs. 34 from the villages, or about Rs. 43 a year altogether, besides payment in kind, such as clothes and rice. Or again, since an aided primary school contains on an average seventeen pupils, each pupil costs Government nine annas a year out of a total of Rs. 2-9. The schools are therefore essentially village schools, maintained by the people for the people, with some moderate support

from Government. It is, however, questionable whether the present system is an improvement upon the indigenous system. The Director of Public Instruction himself thus points out its principal defects. Slate arithmetic and the reading of printed books have too often been allowed, wholly or partially, to take the place of some of the old subjects of patshala instruction. "This is," the director observes, "specially the case with mental arithmetic—a subject on which no great stress can be laid in the scholarship examination, since that has now come to be conducted more and more fully by written papers, the number of candidates, which increases yearly, preventing the use of *viva voce* questions to any great extent. But this evil, the existence of which has been specially noticed in Midnapore and in Orissa, is a serious one. Readiness and rapidity of calculation have been the pride of patshala pupils and the strength of patshala instruction for many generations; and we shall have altogether failed to make the best use of the materials at our command unless we preserve and confirm their most useful elements." This observation is entirely borne out by facts that came under Sir Ashley Eden's own observation during his recent visit to Midnapore, where, in a large gathering of primary schools, he found the pupils remarkably deficient in mental arithmetic, a subject in which they used to be remarkably proficient. This subject is unquestionably one of the most useful that a boy can spend his time upon; and it is no gain to him, but a serious loss, to have learnt to read a printed primer, if at the same time he is unable to look sharp after his own interests in ordinary money transactions. The immediate remedy lies, as the director points out, in the revision of the rates of reward offered for different subjects, and in the substitution of *viva voce* for written questions at the examination in arithmetic. We do hope that this remedy will produce the desired result. There are many other important points suggested by Mr. Croft's report and the Government resolution thereon, but we have neither time nor space to discuss them. The question of education in this

country will be soon brought under the consideration of an imperial commission, which Lord Ripon is about to appoint, and we will watch with anxious interest the labours of the commission.—*Hindoo Patriot*.

APPENDIX D.

EXTRACT FROM REPORT OF THE HON. BHUDEB MUKHOPADHYAYA ON THE PRIMARY SCHOOLS OF THE NORTH-WEST PROVINCES.

CONCLUSION.

I shall conclude this Report with the few following observations :—

1. The history of the educational system of the North-West shows that the local Government set out with the object of improving the indigenous schools of those provinces, and that, with a view to enlist the sympathies of the people on their side, it never lost an occasion to impress upon the local and educational officers the necessity which existed for making it clear to the agricultural classes that they could neither know their duties nor defend their rights unless they improved their schools in the way they were directed. The Government of the North-Western Provinces were at first strongly disinclined to appoint teachers to village schools and pay them, lest such a practice should lead the teachers to look up to the Government exclusively, and neglect the conciliation of the people.

2. But this slow cautious plan was soon abandoned. The success of the local officers in raising the cess facilitated the establishment of schools, which, being under their direct management, afforded full scope to the tendency to raise the standard of school instruction, which is the necessary accompaniment of Government interference in the educational

interests of the people. Probably, too, the simple interests of the agricultural classes, on which the educational system was designed to be established, appeared on trial to be too weak for its purpose. For it may be easily imagined that, rude and primitive as the village people were, they could not readily understand the connection that subsisted as cause and sequence between a knowledge of letters and the defence of their rights in land. To simple and unsophisticated people, to be able to defend one's own rights does not seem to require any long or round-about preparation. It is left by them invariably to common sense, to traditional instruction handed down from parents to children, and to the example and advice of friends and neighbours. Very few men, even in the higher circles of society, study the laws of their country simply to have a clear knowledge thereby of their duties and rights. Every human effort is made with a view to some positive good. The defence of one's rights is but a negative one. The acquisition of knowledge, especially at the rudimentary stage, is a very great effort; and in the eyes of the unlettered masses, knowledge as power or accomplishment has no value whatever.

3. From the natural weakness, therefore, of interest in education among the agricultural community, as well as from the facilities which presented themselves for adopting a different course, the policy laid down in the beginning was in the course of a very few years entirely departed from, and Government efforts were directed, not to the improvement of indigenous schools, but to provide for the instruction of the people by distributing new schools equally throughout the districts.

4. How the system of village circles has worked has been already seen in the course of this report. The theory of equal distribution has broken down; the labouring agricultural classes have not been attracted to the schools in the proportion designed; the standard of studies has been raised above that of the indigenous schools, but not so considerably as may appear at first sight; and no perceptible influence has

been exercised on the manners, habits, tastes, modes of thought and speech, of the community at large.

5. Those who have formed their idea of the vernacular educational system of the North-West from the Government Resolutions and Letters of the first Thomasonian period, are unaware of the radical change which that system underwent at a subsequent stage. Correct ideas of the Halqu Schools cannot be formed from mere paper statistics. It is idle now to say that these schools are founded on the interests of the labouring agricultural classes, and that they are mainly attended by such classes. The interests on which these schools now stand, are, as has been already pointed out, the following:—

(1st.) A desire for small appointments, such as Patwaris, Mahurers, Panditships, &c., &c., among the middle classes.

(2nd.) A desire of pleasing the revenue authorities, who everywhere in those parts take considerable interest in the schools.

(3rd.) A vague hope of some good resulting from school attendance by learning to read and write, as well as attracting the notice of the authorities.

If the Civil authorities withdrew their interest from the schools, the only foundation for them to stand upon would be—

(a.) The fixed income from the cess fund.

(b.) The interest of the teachers, whose salaries depend upon the existence of the schools.

6. The conclusion then is, that the passion for service, natural to the circumstances of the people, which has acted in Bengal in favour of superior English education, is, in fact, the only active impulse on which the system of vernacular education has proceeded in the North-West. The difference is that while in the Lower Provinces the people have learnt to look up to comparatively higher and more responsible appointments as the reward of success at school, the people of the Upper Provinces have had held before them generally as their objects of ambition very inferior posts, the higher appointments to which natives are eligible

in those parts being conferred on other considerations than those of success at school. Popular estrangement, therefore, from Government systems of education continues as great in those Provinces as ever.

7. It may be very well to talk of education for itself, and without any eye to ulterior advantages. But the question practically resolves itself into one of interest on the one hand, and of religious authority or of legislative compulsion on the other. An earnest man cannot shut his eyes to the facts of the case. He will remember that the indigenous education of India was founded on the sanction of the *shastras*, which elevated into religious duties and conferred dignity on the commonest transactions of every-day life. He will remember that the existence of village communities, which left not only their Municipal, but also in part their Revenue and Judicial administrations in the hands of the people themselves, greatly helped to spread education among all the different members of the community. He will see the fruits of the indigenous system in the numberless *Patchalas*, *Chatsals*, and *Tols* which still overspread the country, and which, however wretched their present condition, prove by their continued existence, in spite of neglect, contempt, and other adverse circumstances of a thousand years, the strong stamina they acquired at their birth. At the present day, he will see the religious sanction growing weak, the village communities nearly gone, manufacturing industry come to the verge of ruin, the heaviest incidence of taxation falling upon land, and a foreign language become the language of court and commerce. The natural incentives to popular education being thus weak, its progress, he must acknowledge, will depend on the efforts of an enlightened Government inclined to compensate to the people for their losses under foreign rule. Until a healthy political, economical, and social condition has been regained under the security of British administration, artificial stimulants must supply its place as well as they are able.

8. All talk, therefore, at this time of educating the people

without holding forth inducements to them, is simply useless, and to speak of "educating the masses, and leaving them where they are," betrays an ignorance not only of the inherent and practical difficulties of the question of mass education, but likewise an ignorance of the simplest principles of all sustained human action.

In Bengal proper, the interest in favour of vernacular education is far healthier among the middle classes than it is in the North-West. In order really to interest the masses, it will be necessary everywhere in Bengal, no less than in the North-West and the Panjab, to take measures calculated to open before the labouring classes such prospects as they can clearly see of securing increased efficiency and value to their labour by school attendance. But confining myself to the immediate object of my tour, I may venture to affirm, on the strength of a sincere conviction, and without calling in question the wisdom of the measures which have been set on foot in the different provinces, that the main features of the North-West system, which were first modified in the Panjab in two essential points, namely (1) the distribution of schools, and (2) the class interests they were founded upon; and again modified in Oudh as respects starting schools without providing competent teachers for them, require to be yet further altered to suit the circumstances of Bengal, (1) by leaving the village teachers to remain what they are, servants of the people, and not of Government; and (2) by providing means for the support of the schools from general, and not local or sectional taxation, nor from nominally voluntary contributions raised by local officers. An education tax will be the least unpopular of all taxes in Bengal.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

BHUDEB MUKHOPADHYAYA.

Inspector of Schools.

APPENDIX E.

THE *CALCUTTA REVIEW* ON EDUCATION IN BENGAL.

LEAVING, then, for the present all questions regarding local taxation, we prefer to consider the educational policy of Bengal chiefly with reference to the actual work which it has already done and is now doing, in the hope of showing that its errors and deficiencies are such as seem to indicate the necessity rather for careful and gradual reforms than for any such revolutionary changes as have been sometimes a little wildly suggested. If the matter be looked at from this point of view, the first necessity is evidently a clear view of the actual facts. We require to know something regarding the social and moral atmosphere of a Bengali village, and the economic relations of its inhabitants amongst themselves and with the outside world. We must in short inform ourselves regarding the present condition and real needs of the various classes of the community, before we can hope to decide with any degree of certainty on the best means of improving their position.

This task may, at first sight, appear a very easy one, but there are difficulties which do not show themselves on the surface. It is true that we have held Bengal longer than any other part of India, and that for several generations it has contained not only a large staff of officials, but also a considerable number of missionaries, planters and other non-official Europeans, who cannot have failed to learn all that is easily to be known regarding the people among whom they

lived. All this is true; but very little of all these stores of knowledge has ever been published, and still less of it is readily accessible. If we could collect even a tenth part of what has been incidentally written regarding the social condition of Bengal in the course of various books and reports, we should have all and more than all the information we require; but there is very little matter of this kind to be found in the numerous special treatises on education which have been published within the last few years, and our readers will therefore, perhaps, pardon our going back for a moment to this elementary subject. But first, in order to avoid the danger of misconception, it is as well to say that we have no fault to find with the writers of the treatises just referred to. The two among them whose names carry most authority, Messrs. Monteath and Howell, are men whose ability and earnestness require no praise of ours; and if, as we contend, the education question has been treated by them as well as by others to some extent on a wrong basis, the blame must lie on other shoulders. They* admirably carried out the special task with which they were entrusted, and if their reports give us more information regarding the machinery of public instruction than regarding the education actually imparted and its effect on the people of India, our complaint lies, not against Messrs. Monteath and Howell, but against those who set their task, or rather against the system under which machinery is regarded as of more consequence than results.

Nor is it with regard to education only that a complaint of this kind can reasonably be made. Many of our readers

* It is true that some people criticise rather roughly Mr. Howell's naïve mode of calculating the cost of each boy who passes the entrance examination, by simply dividing amongst the successful competitors the whole expense of the schools in which they are educated, and omitting from consideration the ten times more numerous students who compete unsuccessfully or not at all; but for our own part we regard with feelings of gratitude any one who in this dry and thirsty land affords us a hearty laugh. Moreover, any one who is set to manipulate figures as if they were facts is sure to produce some brilliant absurdity or other, and Mr. Howell has probably done less in this way than most of his critics would have done, if it had been their melancholy duty to make bricks without straw.

will perhaps remember the September day in 1858, when all India was called on to rejoice and illuminate on occasion of the extinction of the old Company's government and the accession of the Queen of England to the throne of India. Some of them may have felt a little sore at heart and vexed at being compelled to rejoice over the death of an old and generous master, and a little doubtful whether the new system of government would prove an unmixed good. If so, they had some of the wisest men in England to share their opinion, and we cannot but think that the history of the last twelve years has already done much towards demonstrating its correctness. During these twelve years there has undoubtedly been a great deal of what is usually called progress, but in estimating the value of what has been done, it should be remembered that the imitation of European systems of administration, and even the increase of commerce and industrial production, are not necessarily and in themselves advantageous, but only so far as they tend to elevate and improve the condition of the people.

If any one will be at the pains of comparing the administrative history of the last decade with that of an equal number of years an official generation or two ago, he will find that the principles of government followed during the earlier period were radically different from those at present in vogue. In those earlier days the initiative was generally taken by the local authorities and on the grounds of local expediency. Some practical evil having been felt, an attempt was made to remedy it. At the present day we have got far beyond this primitive and unscientific mode of government. Our eyes are fixed, not on India, but on England, and our action often aims not so much at the reform of some existing abuse as at the imitation of some European practice. No one can read the clear and exhaustive judgments contained in the monthly volumes of High Court Reports without having the conviction forced upon him that, whatever may have formerly been the case, the Mofussil Magistrates and other local officials of the present day are generally actuated

in everything they do by corrupt and spiteful motives. This is so evidently the case, that in criminal appeals one feels that, if justice were to be done, the Magistrate on the bench should change places with the pure and honourable man whom his persecution has driven into the dock, and there is reason to hope that, if this exchange is found impracticable, a compromise will at least be devised under which the self-sacrificing men who under the existing system, from motives of pure humanity, act as pleaders in defence of the oppressed, may be vested with judicial powers, without at the same time giving up those personal relations with their clients which enable them fully to sympathize with their misfortunes. So much, we believe, has long been admitted, but it is not so generally known, and this is the point at which we are really driving, that not only are local officials in general grossly corrupt and ignorant of the laws which they daily administer, but moreover they, in common with non-official Europeans residing in the Mofussil and the natives of the country, are almost totally blind to everything that goes on before their eyes, and the only knowledge worth having is that derived by central authorities from tabular statements. It is true that our local government to some extent endeavours to make use of the special knowledge—as their poor parochial minds esteem it—of its subordinates, but perhaps in consequence of this very fact it has now become evident that the Bengal Government itself, if not parochial is at least provincial in its views, and that the Imperial authorities who have an opportunity of comparing the tabular statements of Bengal with those of other provinces, are alone in a position to arrive at safe conclusions. So far we have already got, but there is no reason why we should despair of still further progress. We all hope that the era of international wars and jealousies will some day pass away, and Europe resolve itself into a confederation of the peoples, and when that blessed day comes, there is no reason why uniform tabular statements should not be drawn up regarding all the nations of the world, and perfect political wisdom

thereby be secured. This is, in fact, perhaps the mode in which we may expect our hopes of a millennium to be realized.

This, then, is the present method of administration. The Government of India, as the great central depository of tabular statements, or in other words of truth, casts its reflective eye around the world, and considers whether there is not some instrument of European origin which it can introduce to benefit the benighted people of India, and our juries, our sanitary science,* our jail discipline, and our reproductiv† public works, are in themselves sufficient to show that this system has not been barren of results.

In other words, and in sober earnest, we complain of the way in which the education question and many others have recently been treated. There has been too much theory and too little fact, too much machinery and too little regard for actual results. Mere statistics have been taken as the basis on which to build a new policy, and scant consideration has been given to the real needs and desires of the people.

When we descend to the level of facts, the first point which has to be noticed is the extraordinary notion which is generally entertained regarding the condition of the lower classes in Bengal. Theoretic philanthropists and Calcutta Babus, imitating their language, have so often told us in somewhat general terms of the miserable and forlorn condition of the ryots, and these accounts form such an admirable weapon in the hands of men who are hostile to the present Bengal land-laws, that those who know—as mofussil officers

* The term science has perhaps never been more grossly misused than when it is applied to the few detached facts which constitute the sum of our knowledge on the subject of hygiene, with the simple and tolerably obvious practical rules which have been deduced therefrom.

† We use the term "reproductive" because it is usually applied to the class of works to which we refer. We are not, however, among the hopeful few who believe that most of our state railways and canals will ever prove to have been profitable investments. The ebb and flow of the political tides seem in India to last on an average about five years, and the enthusiasm for reproductive expenditure will probably have given place to some other craze before the year 1875.

and planters do—the real facts of the case, find it hard to obtain a hearing. If men of this class were consulted, they would tell the educational enthusiasts that the peasantry of Bengal are on the whole a decidedly well-to-do class. They do not wear warm clothes and read Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper, nor do they eat bacon or enjoy an hour's sound sleep once a week in their parish church; but, except in famine years, which in Bengal are fortunately rare and in its eastern districts almost unknown, actual want of food is never felt by any class of the people, and the peasantry generally can command as much food and clothing as they require, with such lodging as they consider comfortable, and not unfrequently silver ornaments for their wives and daughters. Land seeking for ryots is far more common than ryots seeking for land; and though landlords acting in a commercial spirit may sometimes press their tenants hard, it has to be done with a good deal of caution, because, among other reasons, a man who chooses to give up his ancestral bit of land and open up new ground elsewhere has no difficulty in getting as much as he likes on favourable terms. The whole social atmosphere, too, is conservative. The general feeling is in favour of perpetuity of tenure, and actual rack rents are very rare. Nor is the Bengali ryot wanting in intelligence. He not only knows what his rights are, but is perfectly ready to go to law in defence of them, and though he will often pay more than our laws will uphold his landlord in claiming, yet a landlord generally finds it hard work to get anything to which he is not entitled by recognized and old-established custom. While then we do not defend the present state of things as anything like perfect, but would eagerly adopt any practical measures tending to render the lower classes more independent and self-reliant, to give them a higher standard of comfort, or in any way to raise them in the scale of humanity, yet we cannot pass by the distorted and exaggerated class of statements above referred to without pointing out their inaccuracy.

It may be objected to us that all this is mere assertion,

but we have no hesitation in appealing to any one who is familiar with the mofussil of the Lower Provinces for a confirmation of our views ; and so long as the usual heart-rending pictures of Bengali life are only drawn by men whose knowledge has been gathered in distant provinces of India, or in the course of occasional evening drives along the Strand in Calcutta, it is hardly worth our while to be at the trouble of collecting facts to demonstrate their fictitious character.*

The incorrect popular notions regarding the social condition of Bengal are among the greatest obstacles to a calm consideration of the education question on the basis of facts, and we have therefore given them precedence among the various obstructions which have to be swept away before any useful work can be done ; but wild and delusive as those popular notions are, we doubt whether they have done so much towards misleading public opinion as the false analogy which has been drawn between this country and England, and the thoughtless manner in which ideas and arguments only applicable to European life have been allowed to influence men's minds, when they have had to deal with a wholly different organization of society. Mr. Howell, in his recent address to the Social Science Association, expressed the opinion that we are in much greater danger of suffering from the careless or apathetic neglect of the lessons to be learned from the experience of other countries than from a

* As an instance of the funny mistakes which are caused by want of adequate local knowledge, we may mention having seen it argued that Bengal is in a backward and neglected state, as compared with the Upper Provinces of India, because she can boast of fewer good roads. Apparently the writer did not know, or it did not occur to him to reflect, that most parts of the Lower Provinces are provided by the hand of God with high ways of commerce in the form of rivers and khals, which the North-West could not hope to rival if it spent its whole revenue on nothing else for a century. An hour spent on the banks of the Pudda or one of its tributaries in watching the ceaseless traffic which goes on upon them would have prevented such a blunder. It is the constant occurrence of absurdities like this, in the generalizations of our present centralized Government, which causes it to be daily more and more regarded by practical men, both official and non-official, with a feeling akin to contempt.

failure to appreciate the full force of local peculiarities hidden under a superficial resemblance. In this opinion we find it impossible to concur. In almost every question of Indian politics, and not least in that of education, the greatest and most constant source of error at the present day appears to us to be the careless and inconsiderate importation of inapplicable European maxims and ideas. England, as every one knows, is above all things a land of great manufacturing cities and of individual independence. By the gradual confiscation of their ancient rights and under the influence of feudal land-laws, the people at large have been driven out of the heritage of their ancestors, while the land has been massed in the hands of a few hundred proprietors. Enormous wealth at one end of the social scale is counterbalanced by thousands of paupers at the other. The land is actually tilled by mere day-labourers, who, having finally lost all right even in the village commons, have fallen year by year to a lower level, till they now in some counties hardly exceed in intelligence the far more comfortably-housed cattle which they tend, while their only hope, after a life of ceaseless toil, is to end their days in the workhouse. The thousands, who, in a healthier state of society, would be supported by the lands of our Marquises of Westminster and Bute, are driven away to the towns where every walk of life is already so crowded that, but for the safety valve of emigration, the pauperism which even now threatens to swamp them must inevitably have bred a revolution. Every boy in England, to speak generally, has to shift for himself, as soon as he is old enough to make his bread. If he cannot shoulder his way in his own rank of life, he must emigrate or sink to a lower. Knowledge is power, and the man who is unfitted by education for any skilled employment has little before him but the life of a factory hand, a day labourer or a thief, and all these professions are overstocked like the rest. And all the time democracy is yearly coming nearer, so that the desire of self-preservation urges us to educate our masters, while humanity forbids that any child should be sent out

into the world to fight the battle of life with no more hope of success than if he were blind or maimed.

India on the other hand is almost exclusively agricultural, and the family is still the social unit, so that no man has to start in life on his own sole resources. Instead of having to carve his own way in the world, he inherits a profession or a share in a bit of land, and unless some famine chance to come in his time, he lives and dies in his native village as his father did before him. There are, of course, exceptions to the general rule in India as well as in England, but it is the general rule nevertheless.

And this is not the only or the chief difference between the two countries. At home the term primary education means something, because, when a boy can read and write, he has access to the boundless stores of knowledge and thought embodied in the literature of England. Books and newspapers are everywhere around him, and he can hardly avoid coming in contact with new ideas. In this country the case is quite different, for a popular literature worthy of the name has still to be created, and it is an entire misuse of terms to say that we educate or do anything towards educating a boy when we simply enable him to read the *Mahabharata* for himself instead of hearing it droned over by a neighbour. He asks for bread in the shape of new ideas to wake the torpid powers of his mind, and we give him a stone in the form of increased facility in repeating again and again his old-world fables. Not only then is there no sort of comparison between the necessity for educating the masses here and in England, but moreover what we put forward here as primary education is, in fact, no education at all; and if we want really to learn what can be done towards raising the position of the masses in India, the first thing we must do is to put out of our heads and forget all ideas borrowed from English life.

There are other misconceptions and misrepresentations which have to be removed before we can find a firm foundation for a practical scheme of reform. Almost all writers on the

subject of education in India have made it one of their chief complaints that, while great attention is paid in Bengal to English education, the mass of the people are far less instructed than in any other province; and it is almost superfluous to add that in support of this notion the principal argument is drawn from the statistics of educational machinery. Unfortunately, like most other arguments drawn from tabular statements, it has very little in the way of actual fact to support it. Vernacular Schools under Government management or supervision are no doubt much less numerous in Bengal than in most other provinces; but there is nothing to show that the proportion of the population who can read and write is less in the Lower Provinces than elsewhere. When Mr. Adams wrote his report on vernacular education, it was estimated that there were in Bengal about 100,000 village-schools or patshalas, and there is no doubt that Babu Joykishen Mookerjee was right when he lately stated that in almost every village one of these institutions is still to be found. It is true that the instruction given by a village Guru is of a very defective character. *Sisu Sebodhi*, *Data Karna*, *Ganga Bandhana*, and *Guru Dakkhina* are undoubtedly not works much calculated to stimulate activity of intellect, nor is the orthography prevalent in indigenous village-schools at all such as would commend itself to a rigid grammarian; but on the other hand it must be remembered that, even in those provinces where an attempt is more extensively made to provide Government vernacular schools for the lower classes, a very small part of the whole number of pupils taught ever get beyond the lowest classes, in which the instruction given is little different from that of the Guru. Thus of the 98,211 pupils who were taught in the village schools of the North-west Provinces during the year 1866-7, the large number of 58,363 belonged to the lowest class, in which only reading and writing and figures are taught, while no less than 91,325 were in or below the sixth class, in which the official course of studies is "arithmetic (first four rules), a tale of

rural life, map of the district, writing on slates." And there is one subject, arithmetic, in which boys are much more efficiently taught in village schools of the old indigenous class than in those conducted on the English system. The method employed may not be as rational as ours, but the practical result is a much greater facility in simple calculations and account-keeping than is gained by the pupils of Government schools.

We are quite prepared to admit, that even in the lowest classes the teaching of schools conducted on the English method is on the whole better than that of the Patshalas; but we nevertheless feel bound to point out the absurdity of omitting these latter institutions altogether from consideration, and assuming that primary education is less common in the Lower Provinces than elsewhere, simply because there are fewer schools of the lowest class in connection with Government. Whether the proportion of persons who can read and write is smaller or larger in Bengal than elsewhere we have no sufficient means of learning with any degree of certainty, and we therefore leave it open. This much however we do know, that men would not print books if there were no demand for them, and that Bengal, in which vernacular education is popularly said to be altogether neglected, is the only province of India in which an extensive vernacular press and a large and growing vernacular literature has any existence. We freely admit that neither the newspapers nor the books are for the most part much to be proud of; but they at least argue the existence of a large reading class. Nor is it at all the case, as is sometimes asserted, that this literature is only for the use of Calcutta and its neighbourhood. Any one who knows anything of Bengal knows that books, and even newspapers, are to be found in almost every village.

Another point, regarding which the wildest ideas are prevalent, is the difference between educating men in the class to which they belong and educating them so as to raise them out of it—between the desire of education for its own sake, and

the desire to make use of it as a means towards worldly advancement. The simple fact we believe to be that education never has been, and probably never will be, generally valued for its own sake in any country whatever. A Socrates may be found now and then with a passionate devotion to the pursuit of beauty and truth, and a considerable number of minds are to be met with in all cultivated communities which revolt against the Philistinism around them, and by striving to reach the realities which underlie the current shams and conventionalities of the time, show that they value knowledge for its own sake. But these are exceptional cases. Among the great mass of mankind, when education is valued at all, it is valued either because current ideas regard a certain amount of culture as respectable and becoming in certain stations of society, or because it affords means of getting on in the world. Vanity and the desire of wealth govern men's actions in regard to education just as much as in regard to everything else. If we want to stimulate the desire for education generally, or for instruction of any particular kind, we can do so generally only in one of two ways: either by making it profitable, or by teaching public opinion to regard it as respectable and necessary. It is possible that in England the compulsory education of a single generation might metamorphose the whole character of the agricultural classes, and it is certain that in one or two generations at most it would produce economic changes in the existing relations between master and man which some of us long for as the most powerful means of national regeneration, though the landlord class, or, as Matthew Arnold calls them, the Barbarians, are hardly yet sufficiently enlightened to relish the prospect, if they had eyes to foresee it. This is true of England; and even in India, where the economic laws of God and man are less widely different, universal compulsory education, if such a thing were possible, would no doubt be productive of great results; but for the present it is idle to talk of such heroic remedies, and so little can be done in a single lifetime with the means which

are really at our disposal, that we must resolve to walk by faith and not by sight—to spend and be spent in the weary work of hewing and digging and sowing, content with the belief that if our seed be good, there will a harvest to reap, though it be in the distant future.

It may perhaps be thrown in our teeth that we are falling into the very fault reprobated above of judging Indian matters by an English standard, and we freely admit that England, as the great metropolis of snobbism and money-worship, and the one country in the world where nothing but wealth and social position is considered valuable, cannot safely be taken as a measure to anything but itself. We maintain, however, that even in those countries where the beauties of nature and art and the delights of human fellowship are more highly valued, and where men are not wholly absorbed in the pursuit of gain, they still educate their sons far more with reference to profit and social customs than to any ideal standard of human culture. In India, at all events, no such standard is recognized by the mass of the people. So much, we suppose, all will admit; and it therefore necessarily follows that if the idea of compulsion be rejected our only means of inducing men to educate their children, even when the requisite machinery is provided, must be to show them that it is profitable, and gradually to lead the public opinion of each class towards a higher level of requirement.

If the existing educational system of Bengal be considered with reference to its present results, there is no great difficulty in laying one's finger on its real faults and deficiencies. Even the highest and most successful class of students who may have employed all the means of instruction and won all the honours which our colleges offer—even these men do not generally show an altogether satisfactory result of our teaching. Endowed as the Bengali is with great acuteness and immense powers of steady application, he has a marvellous facility in acquiring a ready command of fluent English, and in becoming familiar with the results

of European thought. But his acquirements are for the most part superficial. His powers and habits of thought are not improved to the same degree as those of expression ; and, however familiar he may be with the words of European writers and thinkers, it is generally apparent that he very imperfectly appreciates the real sentiments and principles whose outward expression he so skilfully imitates. His acquaintance with fact is large, but his faculty of independent thought and criticism small. What he wants is not knowledge, but the power to assimilate it.

This, however, is for the present unavoidable. The child is father of the man, and though a genius may be found now and then who contradicts all ordinary rules, it is inevitable that the majority of mankind should be what their early training tended to make them, and should thoroughly assimilate only such ideas as naturally belong to the moral and intellectual atmosphere in which they have lived from childhood. The European type of thought can no more be spontaneously produced on the soil of India than the idea of York Minster could be inspired by Pauranic Brahmanism —and we shall inevitably be disappointed if we expect our students at once to accomplish more than an external resemblance to an alien type. The Hindu mind has many admirable characteristics, which the more material Anglo-Saxon would do well to study, but it can only be formed and developed by the gradual operation of natural laws ; and it is idle to hope that we can at once create the moral purpose, the artistic sense, and the personal independence, which the nations of Europe inherit from our spiritual ancestors, the Jew, the Greek, and the German.

The British Philistine with his constitutional freedom and trial by jury, his Evangelical or Anglican Christianity, his dinner-parties and his tall black hat, is about the blindest worshipper of nostrums and formulæ that the world has yet produced, and it is no merit of his that he has a more genuine and effective belief in European ideas, a firmer grasp of facts, and a more constant and abiding, though often

unconscious, faith in the law and order of the universe, than a man by whom all such notions must have been reached, if at all, through a distinct intellectual process. They are the outcome of all the past history of Europe. An Englishman sucks them in with his mother's milk, and inhales them without knowing it in every breath he breathes. But before *izzut*, for instance, can give place to honour, some substitute must be created for the traditions which have come down to us from the chivalry of our fathers.

What is wonderful is not that in some points we have failed, but the great extent to which we have succeeded, and in all our schemes of reform the one thing most to be avoided and fought against is any proposal to relax our efforts in imparting the higher education, without which all talk about the instruction of the masses is mere empty verbiage. If the education of the people of India means anything, it means the introduction of western ideas, and such ideas can only germinate and become fruitful when presented in an Indian form, when assimilated and reproduced by an Indian mind. To create a channel through which European ideas can reach the people of India, is the real object of our higher education; and this it is which makes all thoughtful men ready to reform our system in every possible way, to make it more thorough and practical, and to introduce if possible a moral element, but never to give it up. And this is a case in which theory and practice entirely agree. It is manifest *a priori* that intelligence can only reach the masses through a highly educated class; and Bengal, the only Province where the higher education has been successfully attempted, is also the only one where our teaching has produced any tangible effects upon any class whatever. Elsewhere we have taught a few peasants and traders to read more fluently than they would have done without us, and to cypher, with less dexterity it is true, but in more approved methods than those followed in indigenous schools. Here we have dealt in new ideas—the instruments by which history is made, and it requires neither much intelligence to

conjecture nor much clearness of vision to see which process is the more effectual.

Our higher education, then, must not be thoughtlessly condemned for its inevitable failings, but vigorously extended and improved as that part of our system without which all our exertions in other directions would be mere waste of labour. But when we come a step lower down, we shall find that more radical reforms are necessary. Over and above the men whose knowledge of English is sound and real, and sufficient to bring them into contact with European ideas in their original form, the country is covered with huge legions of smatterers, who know just enough to make them very inefficient clerks, while they are quite incapable of intelligently reading an English book. Such knowledge as this may pay in the sense of securing a salary on which a man can live, but it is evidently profitable in no other way. It neither benefits the mind of the man himself, nor tends to extend intelligence among his neighbours, and the time spent in acquiring it would be much better devoted to the study of such subjects as can be taught in the vernacular. There is no reason why history, geography, arithmetic, and geometry should not be as well taught in Bengali as in English, and there can be no doubt that most boys would spend their time much better in acquiring an increased knowledge of these subjects than in stumbling over chaotic collections of fifth-rate English poetry. A certain number of unsuccessful English students there must always be, but our aim should be so far as is possible to enable and induce those who do not aim at going through the University course, or at all events those who are not likely to pass the Entrance Examination, to pursue their studies in their mother tongue. This is not an easy thing to do, for a knowledge of English at present pays so much better than anything else, that it is the only thing much in demand. Boys are sent to *patshalas* to qualify themselves for practical works of one kind, and to schools in which English is taught, because they there learn what may secure them profitable employment of

another kind, while for vernacular schools of an improved class there is little or no demand. No one wants them, no one will subscribe towards them, and no one will go to them when they are set on foot; this is the direction in which reform is most needed, and we believe that the University could do much towards it by establishing a system of vernacular examinations to be carried on at the same time with those which now admit boys to the position of Undergraduates. To those who intend to go through the University course a knowledge of English is indispensable, because without it no sound teaching can be had in the higher subjects, and the Entrance Examination should therefore continue to be conducted as it is at present; but there is no reason why the University should not also lend the weight of its authority and the *prestige* of its certificates to induce boys to pass vernacular examinations, corresponding more or less to what are known as the middle class examinations of Oxford and Cambridge. Nor is this all that can be done. At present a large proportion of those who study English do so in the hope of entering the service of Government, and as no test has to be satisfied to secure this end, boys hope that, however slight their qualifications may be, they will succeed in providing for themselves if only they can secure a patron. All this would be changed if ministerial appointments requiring a knowledge of English, as well as those of a higher grade, were given away by competitive examinations conducted by the University. A boy who could not come up to the proper standard would know that he had no chance of a Government clerkship, and might be induced to turn his attention to some other occupation. The service of private employers would still remain open; but the servants of Government are so numerous that it would do a good deal towards discouraging smatterers in the way which we have suggested, especially if at the same time all mohurriships and other appointments requiring a knowledge of the vernacular were given away at the middle class examinations.

So much can easily be done, but a much larger question remains behind—namely, how and to what extent we can reach the mass of the agricultural population. This is the point on which the enthusiastic school of educational reformers lay the principal stress, and it is in this direction that the greatest difficulties meet us whatever our standpoint may be.

But here, as elsewhere, our way will become much clearer if we get an accurate conception of the facts with which we have to deal. It has already been pointed out that a good deal of the amiable enthusiasm which has lately become prevalent has been caused by a thoughtless confusion of European and Indian notions, and we shall find on going a little deeper into the matter that another great cause of error has been an equally thoughtless assumption that whatever is true of one part of India must therefore be true of the whole.

In the North-West Provinces society is still organized according to the old indigenous type. English administrators have doubtless hardened into laws much which formerly only existed in the form of more or less binding customs, but still society rests on its old basis of village communities holding their lands directly under Government, and cultivating them by the aid of low caste day-labourers. The son lives on as his father lived before him, soldiering being the only trade likely to tempt him from his home. Government is still a landlord, and is as such constantly brought into contact with the people through an elaborate system of subordinate officers whose proceedings are necessarily carried on in the vernacular. There is no large professional class and no special reason why any one should wish to study anything more than the rudiments of reading and writing and cyphering, which are sufficient to enable a villager to understand and manage his own concerns, while they apparently include almost all that is really taught in the tehsildaree schools. The department of public instruction having no temptation to devote itself to education of a high class for which there

is no demand, has laboured chiefly and with most success among the agricultural population; and though the lowest class of those who actually handle the plough and follow other servile employments has not been reached at all, there is no doubt that villagers have in very large numbers received some degree of elementary instruction.

In Bengal the conditions of society are widely different, and whether we approve or disapprove of the policy which has created them, it is necessary to consider them before we can form an opinion on any practical plan of action.

In the lower provinces, with the exception of Behar, it may almost be said that the old Hindu village system is extinct. In the Eastern frontier provinces it never in historical times existed, but even in the central and western districts very little trace of it can now be found. Government being organized on the *laissez faire* principle, comes little into contact with the mass of the people. It is therefore not tied down to the use of the vernacular, but can carry on its proceedings in the language in which its responsible agents are most absolutely efficient. This in itself is a sufficient reason why English should have been more widely studied in Bengal than elsewhere; and at the same time the Permanent Settlement has enabled the Zemindars to create countless heritable tenures intermediate between themselves and their ryots, and thereby to lay the foundation of a large middle class supported on what, under a system of periodical re-assessment, would have been divided between the zemindar and the State. No one who knows anything of the people of India can doubt that if settlements were made permanent in other provinces, putnee talooks or other heritable incumbrances would grow up there as they have here; but nothing of the sort is actually in existence in the North-West Provinces, and consequently there is no room there for the large middle class which here fills the unprofitable (if not positively mischievous) part of middle men.

It seems to be generally supposed that our Bengal system of education has taken every man out of his proper place,

and led thousands of the low caste population to forsake their ancestral callings and follow literary pursuits. This, however, is a total misconception of the case, as any one may learn who runs his eye down the list in the University Calendar or looks at the Establishment roll of any large office. A few trades, such as that of the weavers of Eastern Bengal, have been utterly destroyed by European competition, and those who, under other circumstances, would have followed them, have been largely driven to seek their living as clerks; but for the most part it will be found that English-speaking Bengalees are either Brahmins or Kayasts—men to whom something like their present position would have been assigned under the old ideal system of Menu. The growth of intelligence has deprived the Brahmin of most of the alms on which in old times he might have lived, while commercial progress, involving the gradual introduction of the system of large capitals and small profits, has left comparatively little room for petty traders, except for the purpose of retail distribution. From these and other causes there is in Bengal a large and needy middle class, almost unknown in other provinces, and it is in consequence of the requirements of this class that the demand for English education, as the most profitable form of literary culture, has here been so great.

No one who has ever tried to get a decently qualified English clerk, on a small salary, will be inclined to think that the market has yet become glutted with high class education; but at the same time, there seems to be great reason in the arguments of those who think that the time has now come when more can, and therefore should, be done for vernacular education, and that the village population should no longer be left with no better teacher than a *guru* of the old school. To sacrifice the higher education in the supposed interest of the lower classes, would be simply to undermine the foundation on which alone our whole system can possibly rest; but there can be little doubt that while in the North-West Provinces the thing most needed at present is the introduction of that higher instruction without

which their whole educational system must be an empty bubble, here the direction in which additional effort is most urgently required is the diffusion of light among the agricultural classes. The literary activity which has already been stimulated will doubtless continue to increase and to acquire a more healthy and self-reliant tone. A channel has been created through which ideas can be admitted, and what we want is to distribute them more widely. This fact, however, is neither new nor the peculiar property of any school of politicians, as enthusiasts of to-day seem to imagine. It has been equally recognized by every successive administration for some years past, and even with respect to its practical application few competent authorities seem to doubt that the attempt to improve the indigenous *patshalas* which has been so successfully made under Baboo Bhodeb Mookerjee, is by far the most hopeful measure which has yet been proposed. Here, as in England, educational reformers should make use of existing materials, instead of attempting to build up a grand new edifice, and if we are content to work on patiently at the humble task of supplying the village schools with more instructed *gurus*, we are far more likely thereby to secure a really permanent result than we should be by setting up new vernacular schools, to which, when they were established, we should find it difficult to attract scholars. We can improve the instruction offered to those who already want to learn, but it is only very gradually, and by the influence of such indirect means as the spread of Bengalee literature, that we can hope to make those who now set no value on education become anxious for its benefits.

Something may be done towards securing the co-operation of the people in our reforms by admitting the scholars of *patshalas* to vernacular scholarships, and so to middle class examinations and Government employment; but the education of a whole nation is a work of such magnitude that we must be content to wait for many generations before it can be in any considerable degree accomplished.

And here the financial difficulty comes in. Village

schools on an improved model are expensive, and where is the money to come from? This is, of course, a practical question of the first importance, but it is outside the limits of the subject which we have proposed to discuss, and we therefore only insist on the negative condition, that unless we desire to undo all that has yet been effected and to make all our future work void and useless, we must not hear of any proposal to sacrifice that higher teaching which alone gives our education its meaning and use. By all means let us extend the fertilising channels far and wide over the thirsty plain, but we must not at the same time render ourselves ridiculous and our labours fruitless by damming up the water of life at the fountain-head.

APPENDIX F.

THE *HINDOO PATRIOT* ON "THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF EDUCATION IN INDIA."

WE cannot congratulate Mr. Evans on his defence of the "General Council on Education in India." It is surcharged with dialectic powder and shot, but weak in the barrel: it is more slashing than discreet—more contentious than conscientious. The subject Mr. Evans has taken up, perhaps, does not admit of much fair-play, but we had a right to expect something more from him than what we have got in the letter we published last week. We regret much that we have, in his estimation, jeopardized our claim to the title of our paper by the remarks we made in our issue on the 14th ultimo; but after reading the letter twice over we have failed to discover wherein rests our fault. Our remarks extended barely to six lines, and embraced only three positive statements; 1st, that the so-called "General Council on Education in India" was an offshoot of the Exeter Hall party; 2nd, that its sole object seemed to be to put down high education in India; and 3rd, that English education has proved a bar to the spread of Christianity. Our correspondent does not directly question the accuracy of any of these statements, but finds fault with them all. As regards the first statement, he says, "if it had been so, you, as an Indian 'patriot,' should not disparage it on that account. You full well know that the so-called 'Exeter Hall party' has, of all parties in England, been the best

friends of the Hindus. Who first started public schools in India but the 'Exeter Hall party'? Among them are such names as 'Duff' and 'Carey,' 'Wilson' and 'Ward,' and many others such Hindu patriots as you yourself (if I mistake not) admire." Surely this is not a *denial* but an *admission* of the accuracy of our position, and the temper shown, therefore, is uncalled for and thrown away. It involves, too, a statement of facts which are not creditable to our correspondent. To the best of our knowledge there was no "Exeter Hall party" in existence when Carey and Ward came to India. We have not before us a list of the members of the "General Council on Education," and cannot, therefore, say how many names of ex-governors, commissioners, M.P.'s, and others, it includes. In the first report of the council we find a number of names with the heading "the following members of the House of Commons have already expressed their approval of the movement and signed the memorial to the Marquis of Hartington, her Majesty's Secretary of State for India." This surely does not mean that they are regular members of the "Council." But whatever it means, the question remains, how many of the members are connected with the "Exeter Hall party"? And as long as our correspondent does not show that the majority of them are unconnected with that party, and the leading members—the moving spirits—of the one are not those of the other, our statement remains untouched.

As regards the object of the "Council," Mr. Evans says "that it is not to put down high education as much as to extend elementary education to the millions of India, who are utterly neglected in this matter." This goes only half way. It controverts the assumption implied by the use of the term "sole," but it admits the major, that the great object of the "Council" is "to put down high education." This Mr. Evans cannot deny, and, therefore, very adroitly puts in the words "as much," to make the putting down of high education the secondary, and the extension of elementary education the primary, object. The report referred to

above affords abundant evidence to falsify this assertion, but we have no time to notice it now. We shall confine ourselves for the present to the questions framed by the "Council," and the facts and figures marshalled by our correspondent, and they clearly demonstrate that the *bête noire* of the Council is high education, and the aim is how to put it down. Take the questions first. We have seven of them, with nearly a dozen offshoots. We have queries regarding the effect of permanently maintaining Government colleges, the best mode of knocking them down, the importance of particular sections of the education despatch of 1854, regarding the "abolition" or "transference" of Government schools, the influence of high education on morality—i.e., the demoralizing tendency of English literature and science; the fitness of natives to serve as schoolmasters; but not a single question regarding the state of elementary education whether it has advanced or receded of late years. Oh! dear no; such a question would have been so *mal apropos*. All about that can be easily imagined by the astute members of the Council in the way that would suit their views. Question No. 5, refers to indigenous education, and it carries the rider how it may be improved without "undue strain on the Government revenue, or too severe pressure on local resources," and that rider clearly explains what it means. Mr. Evans would give us very little credit for common sense if he thought that such a series of questions could suggest to us any other idea than that of the object of their propounders being the drawing out of a certain number of replies to strengthen their case. An adroit counsel for the defence in an Old Bailey case trying to elicit by suggestive questions what would benefit his client would be just the man to propound them.

But to turn to Mr. Evans's facts and figures. Our correspondent is evidently familiar with the history of Indian education, and well read in the reports of the Director of Public Instruction. He must, therefore, be fully aware that repeated inquiries were made by Messrs. Atkinson, Wood-

row, Sutcliffe, and others regarding the social status of our collegiate students, and that the results invariably showed that the bulk of the students came from the lower middle, not from the richer, classes of the community. One report of Mr. Woodrow, we remember, gave a classified list of the salaries or income of the parents of our students, and a large majority of the parents figured there as receiving under a hundred rupees a month. We are sure Mr. Evans would not openly call these parents "rich;" but a telling contrast was of greater importance for his purpose than an honest avowal of facts, and so he indulges with great unctiousness in cheap rhetoric on the unfairness of using "money for the high education of the sons of rich parents, who are well able to pay in full for their children, which should be given to the primary education of the masses." The assumed fact is a pure fiction, and the conclusion drawn, therefore, is simply misleading. And what we strongly object to is that such facts should be magnified by fervid eloquence before English audiences which know nothing of the actual condition of India, but whose voice is of great potency in ruling the destiny of this unhappy country.

The assumption by Mr. Evans that "there are fifteen millions or more poor children of school age" in Bengal appears to be equally unhappy. The total population in Bengal being sixty-six millions, it is impossible to produce fifteen million boys of "school age." Sixty-six millions of population cannot afford more than thirty-four millions of males, and the highest ratio of boys of school-going age in any given population is one-sixth, which would reduce the alleged fifteen millions to a little over five millions and a half, and, out of this, Government provides education for 819,030, and missionary and indigenous schools cover nearly half a million, leaving a balance of four millions to represent the fifteen millions of our correspondent. If we include all the girls of school-going age, which would, in the present social condition of Bengal, serve only to mystify and hood-

wink the public, the total would be ten millions, and from ten millions it is a far cry to fifteen millions.

Again, we are confidently told, "You must be aware of the fact that while sixteen lacs of rupees is (*sic*) spent in Bengal by Government on the high education of the few (very few, comparatively), only four lacs are devoted to the many millions of India who are utterly neglected in this matter." We must confess our ignorance about this so-called fact. We cannot find in any published record that the total of Government expenditure on high education in Bengal is sixteen lacs, and that the total of disbursements on account of elementary education all over India amounts only to four lacs. The Bengal report for 1879-80 gives the total of Government expenditure for collegiate education, which alone can be honestly called "high education," at Rs. 2,35,000, and of secondary and primary education at Rs. 8,74,000 for Bengal only. A lac more has this year been sanctioned for primary education. These figures have to be increased rateably for superintendence and other charges, but they neither raise the cost of collegiate education to sixteen lacs, nor reduce the total for primary education in all India to four lacs. Would we be wrong, then, to suppose that Mr. Evans's figures have been evolved from his own inner consciousness? A camel evolved by a similar process may be amusing—nay, interesting—but we must protest against facts being so manufactured. It is a stale device, unworthy of Mr. Evans.

We readily admit that the total of our education grant is very meagre for so large a community as sixty-six millions, but we emphatically deny that there is any partiality shown in the apportionment of that grant for high and low education. A grant of Rs. 2,35,000 for high education among the sixty-six millions of Bengal is a miserable pittance. It is about one-half of what is given to Maynooth and other Catholic colleges in Ireland for a population of only six millions. And those who attempt to divert the whole or a part of it to the three R's, cannot be friends of the intellec-

tual advancement of the Hindu race. By the way, are the Irish colleges attended by the children of the masses, or of the middle and higher classes of the people? If the latter, what is sauce for the conquered Irish, may reasonably be so for the conquered Indian. In Scotland there is no question of conquest, and yet about three lacs of revenue, contributed by the poorer classes, are diverted to the maintenance of colleges for the higher ranks of society. The "General Council" first originated at Edinburgh, and yet, it is curious, none of its members perceived, or perceiving attempted to put down, the injustice. It is a bad thing to divert public revenue, whether it be in India or elsewhere, to the benefit of particular sections of the people, and if Mr. Evans and his friends do really feel the impropriety, they could take up very good cases for ventilation near their homes. Take, for instance, Cooper's Hill College, near London. It cost £31,886 last year for the education of English youths in engineering, and the amount was paid out of the revenue contributed by the masses of India. It is about one-third more than the sum allotted to high education in Bengal, *i.e.*, the Government pays three-and-a-half lacs for a single college in England for English youths, and two lacs and one-third for all our colleges in Bengal. Is this fair to the people of this country? If not, could not Mr. Evans and his friends move to restore the amount to the people from whom it is wrongfully taken? It would go a great way to promote primary education.

Adverting to our third statement, Mr. Evans says, "In one sense you are right, for, alas! it is a sad fact that much of the high education now gained in India sweeps away all traces of religion, whether Hindu or Christian, and substitutes for it rank infidelity, or gross atheism, which bear fruit in demoralization, debauchery, and death, in the case of so many promising graduates from high-class colleges?" What a libel is this against the school literature of England and the science of modern Europe! The study of Milton and Shakspeare, and Cowper and Wordsworth, and of the

sciences taught by the Herschels and Faradays and Humboldts of our day are handmaids of demoralization and debauchery ! Those who sat in judgment over Galileo might have said this, but it comes with ill-grace from an educated English gentleman of this century. The Government, which so largely employs our graduates, knows well that the charge is utterly unfounded, and no Englishman in India, not a missionary, will believe in it for a moment. But in polemical warfare some people think that any expedient is good enough which is calculated to promote one's object. Of course Mr. Evans will turn round and say that his remarks apply to secular education as imparted in our colleges and unleavened by Christianity ; but if we are not misinformed all the schools under the School Board of England are secular. Do they also fructify in demoralization and debauchery ? And has the Supreme Legislature of England established them and insist on compulsory instruction therein in order that they may fructify in that noxious way ? What religion would Mr. Evans teach the Irish boys in compulsory board schools ? Had the wish been to repress demoralization and debauchery the board schools should have been the first to be overhauled ; the " Council," however, does not touch them. The wish is, we verily believe, to obtain larger hunks of the tempting cake of the educational grant, and hence the cry. Already, school for school, the missionaries obtain much larger grants than the natives, and if the Government colleges could be knocked on the head, there would be more money available for missionary colleges. Those colleges have been established expressly for the suppression of the dearly loved religion of the people, and the plan is to make the people pay, through the Government, the cost of the engines that have been set up for its overthrow. The Government cannot openly sanction grants for the support of Christian missions, but under the guise of grants in aid to schools the matter may be easily and conveniently managed. The missionaries know this well, and they have set up their good-natured, religiously-disposed friends in

England and Scotland to lend their names to this movement, which is purely missionary, and designed solely for the advancement of missionary schools at Government cost. The "Council" is the mask, and the missionaries, as represented by Exeter Hall, are its wearers. We cannot, we must frankly confess, accord our sympathy to this unholy agitation.—*Hindoo Patriot*.

The General Council on Education in India have issued the following set of questions :—

1.—Are the Education Despatches of 1854 and 1859 being carried out in your district in such a way as most effectually to overtake the education of the "great mass of the people" ?

2.—Does the system of permanently maintaining Government schools and colleges tend :—

(a.)—To discourage the origination and maintenance of aided or unaided institutions by natives or others ?

(b.)—To the diminution or withdrawal of Grants-in-Aid from private institutions which come into competition with those of Government ?

(c.)—To the framing of rules which make the receiving of Grants-in-Aid or local scholarships needlessly difficult or embarrassing ?

(d.)—To partiality towards Government institutions on the part of inspectors ?

Please to give illustrative facts bearing on any of the above queries, either positive or negative.

3.—Can you suggest any practical improvement on the present administration of educational business or any change in the allotment of educational funds ?

4.—What importance do you attach to the carrying out of paragraphs 62 and 86 of the Despatch of 1854 for the "abolition" or "transference" of Government Institutions, especially those of the higher class, and can you suggest any way in which it can be done, without injustice to the

natives, injury to the institutions themselves, or to higher education ?

5.—Are there any unaided indigenous schools in your district of such a character as to benefit the people, and can you suggest any way in which the growing desire for education can be met, without undue strain on the Government revenue, or too severe pressure on local resources ?

6.—Can you give any facts or well-grounded opinions illustrating the effects of the higher education of the youth of India in Government or aided institutions :—

(a.)—In fitting them for the right discharge of the practical duties of life ?

(b.)—On their moral character and conduct ?

(c.)—On their social and political relations to society and to the State ?

7.—To what extent do you consider natives of India competent and suited for employment in the educational department.

Any other facts or suggestions will be welcomed by the Council on Education.

The reader will recollect that this so-called General Council on Education in India is an offshoot of the Exeter Hall party. Its sole object seems to be to put down high English education in India, which has proved a bar to the spread of Christianity. It has come into existence since the last two years.—*Hindoo Patriot*.

APPENDIX G.

THE *BOMBAY GAZETTE* ON THE DANGER OF AN EDUCATIONAL POLICY THAT FAVOURS PROSELYTISM.

It is the failing of all Churches to be disposed to rely more or less on the help of the secular arm when it can be secured. But nothing is more clear to the onlooker than that even the suspicion that missionaries were aided by Government and Government servants who were desirous of finding in their success the solution of all "Eastern Questions," would put an end at once to that tolerant acquiescence in their labours which they now enjoy. As there are many signs that the advice proffered by Mr. Cook with regard to the teaching of "Christian morality" in the schools will be soon pressed strongly upon the Government from other quarters, it may be as well to keep in mind exactly what would be involved in such an innovation, if such were possible. The missionaries themselves have not hitherto shown themselves unmindful of considerations of worldly prudence in dealing with this question of school teaching in its connection with proselytism. The Bible, it is true, is used as a text-book in their schools; but it is not taught as a religious book or even as a book of morals: it is simply one of the reading books—just like Chambers's Second Reading Book. There is no use shutting our eyes to the fact, or to another fact which is the corollary of it, that at the mission schools frequented by Hindus and

Mahomedans no converts are ever won over. The converts of whom Mr. Cook made magniloquent mention are found amongst a class in which neither of the recognized religious communities of India feel any interest. This being the real state of the case, the outcry against the State schools as being "rationalistic" in their tendency, because they are neutral and studiously leave religious questions alone, is scarcely consistent. The State schools do avowedly and on settled principles what the missionary schools do practically and in derogation of their ostensible object—the Christianising of the population. The secular science which is taught in the missionary schools weakens the faith of the pupils in the cosmogony set forth in the sacred books of this country, just as effectually as does the teaching of the State schools; and most certainly those who are affected by the action of this intellectual solvent of old traditions are not in the one case more than in the other brought over to Christianity. The missionary schoolmasters are too prudent to make conversions which would render their schools objects of suspicion and dislike to the whole population. Why then should Mr. Cook and others of their friends and advocates urge that an experiment should be tried in the State schools from which they wisely abstain in their own?—*Bombay Gazette*.

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